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MEDII ÆVI KALENDARIUM.

VOL. I.

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MEDII ÆVI KALENDARIUM;

OR

DATES, CHARTERS, AND CUSTOMS

OF

THE MIDDLE AGES,

WITH

KALENDARS

FROM THE TENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY;

AND AN

ALPHABETICAL DIGEST

OF

OBSOLETE NAMES OF DAYS:

FORMING A

GLOSSARY OF THE DATES OF THE MIDDLE AGES,

WITH

TABLES AND OTHER AIDS FOR ASCERTAINING DATES.

BY

R. T. HAMPSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LONDON:

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MDCCCXLI.

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PREFACE.

Of a work which is chiefly founded on information derived from manuscript or printed sources, little explanation can be necessary. The original intention was, to cast into the form of a Glossary as many of the terms now obsolete, but employed in mediæval chronology, as could be obtained by a diligent research, and to assign the bearing of each, as nearly as it could be satisfactorily ascertained. In the prosecution of this plan, it soon became obvious that the utility of the Glossary would be considerably enlarged by determining the age of the term itself; and the attempt to effect this object with exactitude has necessarily introduced a multitude of ecclesiastical and legal antiquities, which were not contemplated in the first design, but which are indispensable in many cases to confer probability on explanations, respecting which there may be conflicting opinions. Writers of considerable eminence on ecclesiastical subjects connected with chronology, do not always agree in determining the year in which several of the principal festivals were instituted. The variation sometimes extends to one or two centuries, and occa-

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sions difficulties which are not always to be surmounted. In such cases, the leading opinions are given, with references to the authorities on which they are founded.

As historical events sometimes, and legal instruments of any pretence to antiquity frequently, have no other indications of their date than the name of a day, or of a religious ceremony of periodical occurrence, a useful approximation to the year may very often be obtained from a knowledge of the origin of the name by which the event or instrument is dated. In history, we sometimes find important events dated by moveable feasts, which are readily ascertained by the tables of Golden Numbers, Dominical Letters, and the thirty-five Easters, with that of the feasts themselves, when the year is known; but sometimes no more is indicated than the feast, as in the date of the death of Constantine the Great, which Socrates places on May 22, and Eusebius on Whitsunday, but neither of them state the year. The methods of determining the time of events so dated are described in the Glossary. English charters anterior to the 18th Edw. I are of frequent occurrence, with no other indication of their date than the name of the day. In order to shew the utility of determining in such a case the date of the name, we may suppose it to be that of the Immaculate Conception, on the origin of which there are discordant opinions. Those authorities which fix the year of its institution in the 14th and 15th centuries, would either be contradicted by the charter, or would prove the charter to be a forgery. Bellarmin thinks that it began to be observed about the year 1130, but this is merely an opinion at variance with others. The Saxon kalendars of the 10th century, at the end of the first volume, contain this festival, and thus the investigation of the age of such a

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charter, instead of being limited to 1288-9, obtains nearly three centuries, which might be of vast importance, particularly in the adjustment of a genealogy.

Many festivals bear several names, though they are observed at the same time, and others bear the same or nearly the same names, but are different in their objects and time of observance. These being frequently confounded, are carefully distinguished, and to the greater part of them an origin has been traced, which may promote the accuracy and success of legal and historical investigations. The Rose Sunday of the Middle ages may be cited as an example of similarity of names applied to very different days, which on this account are very liable to confusion; for instance, Benedict, a canon of St. Peter's before 1143, speaks of *Dominica de Rosa*, which is properly Midlent Sunday, when he means Sunday in the octaves of the Ascension, which is named *Dominica Rosæ;* but a little attention to the origin of the names will in most cases determine the days to which they belong.

Some of the more technical terms of dates occasion obscurity and perplexity; for instance, the French chronologists understand *Caput Kalendarum* to have commonly denoted the day of the month on which we begin to count the kalends of the following month, and in some cases it certainly does, when we have to look further for assistance where it is necessary to ascertain the exact date.

Innumerable instances resembling the preceding, may be readily collected from the Glossary, in which it has been a principal object, to assemble in an alphabetical order whatever might tend to elucidate the obscurities of the chronology of the middle ages. In order the better to preserve the utility of this department of the work, by re-

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moving from it every thing that did not immediately belong to the explanations, it became necessary either to reject many curious and not altogether useless facts, or to embody them in a separate department. The latter course has been pursued.

The Kalendars, it is presumed, will be found of considerable service. They are six in number, of which two are incorporated in one, but the others are distinct. They range from the middle of the tenth century to the end of the fourteenth, and may, therefore, be supposed to contain all the information which can be expected from works of their description. Of one, of which the original is believed to have been the property of King Æthelstan, it must be confessed that it contains much matter that is not likely to prove remarkably useful, and it has been presented more as a literary curiosity than as an assistant in chronology. The obits of another have been retained, so far as they could be read by the transcriber; because it is possible that one or other of them may determine the date of some particular fact. For instance, we know from the Saxon Chronicles that the battle of Malden was fought in the year 993, and we ascertain what is not mentioned by our historians, from the obit of Byrhtnoth, that it took place on the eleventh of August.

The tables interspersed through the Glossary, and the *Perpetual Lunar Kalendar*, will furnish the means of verifying dates.

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DATES, CHARTERS, AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

MIDDLE AGES,

&c. &c.

BOOK I.

ON CHARTERS AND DATES.

Confusion in mediæval chronology—Number and obscurity of terms productive of error—General chronology—The name Chartæ *used among the Anglo-Saxons—Ancient English charters—Charter of Ethelbert I, the most ancient—Achronical charters—Forged charter of King Edgar—Ancient conveyances without writings—Reasons for the omission of dates in charters—Law of dates—Forgeries of the Saxon monks—Prevalence of the French language after the Conquest—English not wholly neglected—Saxon proclamation in the 13th century—Earliest instruments in English—Signature of the cross before and after the reign of Edward the Confessor—Manner of recording the names of witnesses—Anathema and benediction in Saxon charters; adopted by some of the Anglo-Normans—Maledictions in the manumissions of Saxon serfs—Brevia Testata—Use of seals—Dates, omitted in some and repeated in other Saxon charters—Redundancy of dates—Annunciations of the end of the world in charters—Dates from historical occurrences—Irregularities as to time and place; of no legal importance—Dates, studiously neglected by the omission of parts*

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—Extraordinary use of the Roman computation by kalends, &c.—Necessity of inquiries with respect to the authors and witnesses of charters—Recent forgery of a charter of Henry II to the town of Liverpool—Diplomatic doctrine of dates—General and particular rules—Circumstances to be noticed in English charters.

BOOK I.

THEORETICAL writers on historical composition have established the maxim, that they who relate the events of ages anterior to their own, deserve credit so far only as they acquaint us with the sources, from which they derive their information.* These historical authorities resolve themselves into two classes of corroborative testimony,—public acts and monuments, and private writers. Among the former are medals, inscriptions, charters, diplomas, statutes, and, in short, all instruments of a national character; in the latter class are comprised authors of histories, chronicles, annals, memoirs, and letters, who are either contemporary, or remote from the events, which they relate, and whose credibility is necessarily proportionate to their presence or distance. Hence the verification of facts requires the institution of a comparison between the record and the monuments of the age described, between the narration and its reasoning, and the documents on which the assertions and inferences depend. He that would verify the accounts of the historian, or that would compare public records and authors of the same period together, will often find himself perplexed by the irregularity and obscurity which embarrass the chronology of the middle ages. The statesman, the churchman, and the historian, in speaking of the same time, employ very different language; and, indeed, it rarely happens that two contemporary writers agree in adopting the

* "Des historiens qui racontent les événemens des siècles antérieurs au temps où ils ont vécu, ne mèritent proprement de foi qu'autant qu'ils font connoître les sources où ils ont puisse."—P. GREFFET, *Traité des différentes sortes de Preuves qui servent à établir la Verité de l'Histoire.*

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same chronological terms. If the indications of the time be not understood, it is evident, that the order of events will be liable to be deranged, that anachronisms will arise, that things will be confounded with persons, and that the effect will often be mistaken for the cause, the cause for the effect.*

Irregular dates in English History.

Gibbon, the historian, remarks on the chronology of English history, that it "may be considered as a neglected department. Events, narrated by our ancient writers, are frequently put, with a variation of one, two, or more years. This often depends merely upon the different modes they followed in calculating the commencement of the year. Some began it in the month of March, and antedated events near a year: thus the year 1000 with them begins 25th March, 999. Others began the year in March, and yet retarded it three months, reckoning, for example, the space of the year 1000 preceding 25th March, as belonging to the year 999. Others began the year 25th December. Others at Easter, and varied its commencement as Easter varied. Some who compute from 1st January, still reckon one or two more years from Christ's birth than we do."† In different copies of the Saxon Chronicle the same events are frequently assigned to different dates;‡ thus occasioning a diversity by which our historians have been much perplexed. If in one and the same Chronicle the same year is found to be dated from divers epochs, no little uncertainty may be expected from a comparison of divers chronicles with each other; all these variations will occur, and charters will not

* M. Koch, Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe, Tom. I., p. 27.

† Miscell. Works, Vol. III., p. 610.

‡ The Oxford Copy, commonly called Laud's MS., assigns for example, a series of important events to the year MXLVI; the Cotton MS. (Domit. A. VIII.) places the same events in the year MXLVIII; and the Worcester MS. (Tiberius B. IV.) ascribes them to the year ML. Different commencements of the year are found in each of the eight ancient copies of this interesting monument of our infant language.

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BOOK I.

be found exempt from the same obscurity.* Gervase of Canterbury, early in the thirteenth century, lamented the confusion, which had been introduced into history by the diversity of computation, prevalent in his time, when chronicles were multiplied almost to infinity, and when authors assumed the liberty of reckoning the current year according to their own peculiar notions or local customs.† Some began the year at the Annunciation; some at the Nativity; others at the Circumcision; and many commenced it at the Passion. In addition to this source of perplexity, was the Cycle of the Indiction, which was extended three years before the vulgar era, and which took its course in different places, from different periods of the year.‡ This annalist had formed a design of regulating his own chronology by the Annunciation, but, abandoning that intention lest he should falsify dates, he acquiesced in the practice of his predecessors, who, for the most part, he says, began the new year with the Nativity.§

Dates from local customs and ceremonies occasion error.

The difficulties of determining, with precision, the chronological indications of our ancestors are, by no means diminished, by the extravagant number of names which they conferred upon one and the same day and week, and which were derived partly from local events and customs, and partly from religious ceremonies and offices, as well as from the kalendar of the church, itself overteeming with festivals. Memory, however prodigious its strength, refuses to retain them; and terms, once familiar in the mouth of the rustic, are now enigmas in the study of the learned.‖ Lawyers

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, Tom. I., p. 17, Ed. Paris, 1818.

† See Gloss. Art. *Years of Christ; Braggot Sunday; Woodmunday, &c.*

‡ See Gloss. Art. *Cycle* and *Julian Period.* Gervase very properly inquires, "How can both computations be true, when one begins the years of the incarnation at the opening, and the other at the end, of the solar year?" The difference was seven days.

§ See Mr. Ingram on Anglo-Saxon Chronology, Introduction to Saxon Chronicle, p. xv.

‖ Dr. Samuel Pegge, whose profound erudition entitles him to be treated with the highest respect, endeavouring to explain the word *Brandon*, as an

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and genealogists, to whom minute accuracy is often of the utmost importance, must, it is conceived, be sometimes annoyed in their researches by this diversity, since the manner of dating, even by well known terms, has been productive of errors in professional antiquaries,* and of much confusion

appellation of the first Sunday in Lent, represents *Parasceve*, one of the names of Good Friday, as the eve of Easter.—*Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1754. Mr. Ingram translating the words, ⁊ he ætcoþbe æfne ærcen on þone æfen Letania Maiop. þ ir. viii. kl. Mai; renders them thus, "It appeared first on the *eve called* Litania Major, that is, on the 8th day before the kalends of May." —*Sax. Chron.*, p. 257. There is no eve or vigil of that name in the kalendar; but *Litania Major* was the denomination of the 7th day before the kalends of May, and the comet, which the Saxon annalist believes to have presaged the Norman conquest, appeared as clearly stated in the original, on the eve of Litania Major, which of course was the 8th day before the kalends of that month. Many other instances might easily be adduced, but are deferred to the Glossary.—See *Caput Kalendarum; Festum Sanctæ Hedwigæ; Letenes Tide, &c.*

* Some remarkable blunders of this kind are exhibited in a professional work by Sir William Dugdale. In mentioning the battle of Banbury in 1469, Hume says, "Having seized Pembroke, they took immediate revenge upon him for the death of their leader."—Vol. III., ch. 22. This is correct, and amply sufficient for a general history; but in the "Baronagium," we require and look for more exact information. The battle was fought July 26, 9 Edward IV, and the earl was then taken prisoner. The day following, he made his will, which Sir William quotes, as well as the inquisition taken after his death, and fixing the execution on Thursday next ensuing the feast of St. James the Apostle. On this date, the knightly herald observes, "which Saint's day falls out upon the 25th July, so that 'tis like he was beheaded three or four days after the battle."—*Baronag.*, Vol. II., p. 257. Now, the 25th July in this year fell on Tuesday, the battle was fought on Wednesday, and on Thursday the earl made his will, and was beheaded the same day. Again, Sir William says, that Ranulph de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, died 16 Hen. III., 50 Cal. Nov., which is probably a typographical error.—Vol. I., p. 44. But, speaking of a funeral in 1219, he says, "The body was solemnly interred on Ascension Day, being 27 Cal. April.—*Ib.*, p. 602. Not only is it an impossible date, but the alteration of 27 to 17 or 7 will not make it agree with the fact, for Ascension Day fell on 17 Cal. Junii, or May 16. The festival of St. James has also occasioned an erroneous, or, at least, an improper marginal note to the "Chronicon de Mailros," in which the battle of Bovines in 1274, is said to have been fought on Sunday next after the feast of St. James, on the 6th day before the kalends of August, which Gale seems to expound July 25, instead of July 27.—*Script. Angl.*, Tom. I., p. 187.

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BOOK I.

Glossaries of dates.

among those who employed this style.* A small collection of obscure dates and chronological terms was made by the learned Benedictine authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, with a view to remove this serious obstacle to the free and advantageous perusal of mediæval compositions. The introduction of obsolete English terms, and a large addition of Latin, French, and Anglo-Norman dates, in the succeeding Glossary, are, it is presumed, an extension of that design, which is still further enlarged by compendious explanations of the leading principles of chronology. The little controversies, with which this science has been clouded, are carefully avoided, and no more is attempted than Locke seems to have recommended.†

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* Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris, both living near the time, in naming the important battle of Muret, which was fought on Thursday, September 12, 1213, date it on Friday after the octaves of the Nativity of St. Mary; which Friday was September 20, making an error of eight days. Petrus Lodovensis dates it on Thursday, the eve of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; that is September 13. Gul. de Podio Laurentii makes the date the day of the Exaltation itself; that is September 14; but Arnold, Bishop of Narbonne, the legate against the Albigenses, announces the event from the field of slaughter, "on the morrow of the glorious victory, the sixth day (feria) within the octaves of the Virgin's Nativity," which corresponds with Friday, September 13. The passages are quoted at length by Archbishop Usher, whose business, however, did not require him to notice these inaccuracies.—*Tract. de Christ. Eccles. Success.*, cap. x., s. 39, p. 168. Wilhelm Wyrcester, under the year 1433, mentions the marriage of the Duke of Bedford, on the day of St. Botulph, April 22; and Hearne, in a note on the passage, states from Serenus Cressy, in Hist. Eccl. Brit., p. 375, that the feast was celebrated on the 16th of May, according to English martyrology. —*Lib. Nigr. Scaccarii*, p. 457. The annalist of Waverley says,—In this year, 1239, in the month of June, on the morrow of St. Botulph, was born at London a son to Henry king of England by his queen Eleanora, and he was called Edward.—*Gale*, Tom. II., p. 199. It is generally agreed that Edward the First was born June 16, which according to the best ancient kalendars and martyrologies, is the vigil of St. Botulph; and this date agreeing with Butler and others, seems to be correct.

† Works, Vol. III., p. 84, Ed. Lond. Fol. 1722. The philosopher commends the "Breviarium Chronologicum" of Dr. Strauchius, as the best calculated to convey the leading principles of this branch of learning. The Breviarium was afterwards translated by Sault, who improved his original

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General chronology

For those who are disinclined to enter into the abstrusities of general chronology, it may be sufficient to notice, that the age of the world, and the number of years which have elapsed from the Creation to the Nativity of Christ, are involved in difficulties from which they appear to be inextricable. On the latter question alone there are no fewer than one hundred and forty different hypotheses, founded, in the opinion of the learned Petavius, upon mere conjectures and not upon solid argument. Some fix the epoch of the Nativity in the year of the world 3616, while others go back to the year 6484, and others adopt intermediate years.* The variations in the principal copies of the Old Testament have occasioned this diversity of opinion. The Hebrew codex, to which preference is generally assigned, fixes the deluge in the year of the world 1656, the Samaritan codex in 1307, and the Greek codex, or septuagint version, in 2262.† The period which follows the deluge for nine generations, the number computed from the creation, does not offer smaller variations; the Hebrew codex gives 262 years, the Samaritan 942, and the Septuagint 1972.‡ The system most accredited in the present day, is that of Archbishop Usher, which is founded on the Hebrew codex, and fixing the epoch of the Nativity in the year of the world 4000.§ After all, Moses himself, the inspired historian of the creation, to whose authority it is futile to oppose the hap-hazard conjectures of his annotators, makes no attempt to give a date; it was sufficient for him, one of the wisest of men, and possessing divine information, to state that the world arose *in the beginning* of all things, and that beginning, the discoveries of modern science have placed far

Epoch of the Nativity.

by adding to it the more important parts of the chronological treatises of Beveridge and Holder; but by far the most complete work on this subject is unquestionably the "Art de vérifier les Dates."

* See a curious table in Strauch. Brev. Chron., IV., c. 1.

† Jackson, Chronol. Antiquit., Vol. I. Strauch. Brev. Chron., IV., c. 3.

‡ Jackson, ibid.

§ M. Koch, Liv. cit., Tom. I., p. 38.

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BOOK I.

beyond the hypotheses of European chronologists.* The opinions on the duration of the world from the Creation to the birth of Christ, which have obtained most consideration, are the following:—

Usher	4004	Riccioli	4063
Scaliger	3950	Eusebius	5200
Petavius	3984	The Alphonsine Tables	6934

The year of the Nativity, as already noticed, is also disputed, and authors differ from seven to eight years.†

Dates from customs & ceremonies

Dr. Johnson's remark on a custom of the Hebridians is applicable to the chronological notation of the middle ages with regard to the smaller divisions of time:—"Their only registers are stated observances and practical representations. For this reason an age of ignorance is an age of ceremony. Pageants and processions and commemorations, gradually shrink away, as better methods came into use of recording events, and preserving rights." To this reason, no doubt, is to be ascribed the origin of the greater part of the names, which occupy the Glossary; another portion, however, to which no inconsiderable space is necessarily allotted, consisting of introits, or incipient words of offices on those particular days, which they designate, must be attributed as much to devotion as to ignorance. The use of them in dating events was not wholly abandoned even in the seventeenth century,‡ when more orderly, if not more exact, methods had long been practised.

Charters.

The dates of historical events are not so likely to cause difficulty as those of charters: the former may frequently be determined by the course of narration, or by comparison of different accounts, where the manner of dating is different; but the latter stand alone, and the enquirer can seldom derive assistance from contemporary documents. It often

* Burnet, Archæol. Philosoph., Cap. VIII., p. 306. Buckland, Geol. and Mineral., Vol. I., p. 18.

† Encyclopedie Française, *Departm.* Antiquit., Tom. I., p. 195.

‡ See Gloss. Art. *Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari.*

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happens that the precise date of a charter is of great importance; and hence it may be presumed, that a copious collection of dates in use, during those ages when circumlocutory methods obtained, will afford valuable aid. I am perfectly aware that lawyers make a technical distinction, for it is not real, between charters and deeds; but for convenience, I apply the terms indifferently to instruments of sale, of exchange, and of donation, whether of lands or privileges. Indeed, there seems to be no reason why *diploma*, which is the classical name of charter, might not also be designated in the same manner. Instruments of donation, from the time of the Norman conquest, have been commonly called charters; but previously they received other appellations, such as *chyrographum, hartula, syngrapha, polipticon* (i. e. πολύπτυχοι), *cautio, testimonium, donatio, literæ, scedula, arratum, aratum,* i. e. *ex-aratum.* Dr. Hickes produces two instances, which prove that the term *chartæ* was used before the conquest, and observes, that it was necessary to notice this fact, in order to correct the remark of Ingulphus, that the Normans gave the name of charters to the chirographs of the Anglo-Saxons, as if that term had not been in use among the latter, who in this vernacular language, named the instrument of donation boc or ȝeppite.* The material of charters, it is well known, consisted of parchment; but M. Schwander, of Vienna, is said to have found in the imperial library a small charter, bearing the date of 1243, on linen paper.†

Dates of early charters.

Our earliest charters are dated simply by the year of the Incarnation, the Indiction, or the Regnal year, in which they were issued; and frequently by all these terms, but they seldom contain more minute indications of their age. They, however, possess some peculiarities, which are not without interest.

The most ancient written charter in England is supposed

* Thesaur. Diss. Epist., Tom. III., p. 63.

† Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, Vol. I., p. 394.

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BOOK I.

by Mr. Fosbrooke to be that of Withred, [Wihtred,] king of Kent, about the year 700.* This prince began to reign in 694, and in the same year, at a council held at Bapchild, confirmed the ecclesiastical possessions of the archbishop and clergy of his kingdom. The confirmation is preserved, under the form of a speech, delivered by the king on that occasion;† but, as the narrative style was frequently observed in charters published, in a different manner, there exists no sufficient reason, on this ground, to refuse the title to Wihtred's speech. It is not, however, by any means, the earliest of our charters: the apograph of a charter made by Ethelbert I., king of Kent, in the council of Laurence, the bishop and all his nobility, is extant in the Textus Roffensis, fo. 119a. His charter is the most ancient in England, and bears the date, "Mense Aprilio sub die iiii kl. Maias, indictione septima," which answers to April 28th, 619. There are also in the Cotton Library, two charters, one written by Lothaire, king of Kent in 679, and the other, written in capital letters by Sebbi, king of the East Angles about 680.‡ In speaking of our earliest charters, it seems impossible to omit noticing that of Wulfhere to the abbey of Petersborough, which purports to be dated in the year 644, and of which the authenticity has often been asserted, and as often denied.§ If we admit its authenticity, we must also regard the confirmation by Pope Agatho as genuine; for it comes to us upon the same authority; but the former is a palpable interpolation in the Saxon Chronicle in a Normanno-Saxon dialect.‖

Charter of Ethelbert I.

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* Encyclop. Antiquit., Vol. I., p. 369.

† Chron. Saxon. ad Ann., 694.

‡ Hickes, Thes., Tom. III. Diss. Epist., p. 79.

§ Ibid, p. 66.

‖ Ad Ann. 656; and ad Ann. 963 ejusdem, and Dissect. Sax. Chron., p. 160, is account of its pretended discovery, concealed in an old wall. The Latin copy is in Ingulfus, Hist. Croyland, and contains the words "Certa tenementa, longitudine xx. leugiarum," which, besides the Norman hand, clearly establish it as a forgery after the conquest.—*Hickes, Diss. Epist.*, p.

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Sealed charters.

Sir Edward Coke mentions a sealed deed by king Edwin, in 596;* and Sir William Blackstone observes, that the charter of Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey is generally considered to be the oldest sealed charter of any authority in England.† Coke, however, is no authority on subjects of antiquity, neither has he stated where he obtained his information, for in all probability he never saw such an instrument, or seeing it, would not have been able to determine whether it were genuine or not; and Blackstone's remark is limited to charters with the appendage of a seal. There is also ascribed to King Edgar, who died in 971, the famous charter, in which he is styled, "Marium Brit. Dominus," on which great stress has been laid by several writers in support of the dominion of England over the four seas, but, besides that, it is more than three centuries after Ethelbert's charter. Dr. Hickes‡ has demonstrated it to be spurious, and to have been forged with many others after the Norman conquest.§

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67. In addition to the reasons assigned by this great scholar for rejecting it, we may notice, that where the Saxon has Coppa, the Latin is Coppa; and where Pilbeohte is written, Yitbert appears in the other. The Saxon annalist, under the year 1137, tells us that Martin, the abbot, obtained some privileges from Pope Eugenius. In fact, he produced the forged charter of Agatho, which Eugenius did not understand, but called for the Latin copy, which is more reasonable in its powers than the other. He refused to confirm it, but granted a new charter, still less exorbitant. See the *Chron. Abb. S. Petri Burgi*, edited by Sparke. Jeremy Collier has examined this charter through all its clauses, and gives six formal reasons, almost any one of which would be sufficient to annihilate its pretensions to authenticity.—*Eccles. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 107.

* 1 Inst. 1, fo. 7a.

† Comm. B. II., p. 306.

‡ Thesaur. Diss. Epist., p. 152.

§ One of his reasons is, that it contains the word *Vassallus*, "quam a Nortmannis Angli habuerunt,"—*Diss.*, p. 7. It is however to be remarked, says Mr. Hallam, that Asserius, the contemporary biographer of Alfred, uses the term: "Alfredus cum paucis, et etiam cum quibusdam militibus et vassallis," p. 166. "Nobiles vassali Sumertunensis pagi," p. 167.—*Hist. Europe in Middle Ages*, Vol. II., p. 413.

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It was in the early part of the seventh century, or at the beginning of the preceding, that St. Augustine introduced into England* the custom of reckoning by the years of the Incarnation;† but although sometimes employed in charters, it was not commonly adopted here until the eighth century.‡ The greater part of the charters, however, which were issued in the Saxon period, and for a long time after the Norman invasion were achronical. The reason of this irregularity is not apparent; and Sir Edward Coke has attempted an explanation, which does not seem to be very satisfactory: "The date of a deed," he says, "many times antiquity rejected; and the reason thereof was, for that limitation of prescription, or time of memory, did often in processe of time change, and the law was then holden, that a deed bearing date before the limited time of prescription was not pleadable; and, therefore, they made their deedes without date, to the end they might alledge them within the time of prescription. And the date of deedes was commonly added in the raigne of Edward II. and III., and so ever since."§ Such is the recorded opinion of this celebrated lawyer, who, by a competent judge, has been pronounced an indifferent antiquary,‖ and it may also be considered the opinion of Mr. Chitty, who, in his edition of Blackstone, has used nearly the same words,¶ and of Mr. Cruise, who has

Sir E. Coke on undated charters.

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* He arrived in 597.—*Chron. Sax. ad Ann. Bed. Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. I., cap. 25.

† Bed. de Ratione Temporum, cap. 13. Sir Henry Spelman (Concil. I., 193) says, that it is probable that the years of the Incarnation were seldom or never used in diplomas before the time of Beda. The latter died in 734; *Chron. Sax. ad Ann.*; but the two unquestioned charters of Ethelbert and Sebbi are of the preceding century.

‡ "At seculo viii. tritus esse cœpit calculus ab Incarnatione ut patet ex diplomatibus relatis ab Ingulfo, Dubleto, et aliis."—*Mabillon, de Re Diplom.*, Tom. I., p. 216, Edit. Neapol., 1789.

§ Co. Litt. 1 Inst., fo. 6a.

‖ Dr. Whitaker, Hist. Whalley, p. 194 note, 3rd Edit. 4to.

¶ Comm. B. II., p. 304, n. (18).

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quoted part of the passage.* Madox, profoundly versed in this branch of antiquity, dissents from Coke upon very substantial grounds; "Whether that were the true reason," he says, "may perhaps be justly doubted. It may be before Bracton's time, they were not so well skilled in quirks of law as this amounts to. Or if it were the true reason in cases of feoffments, or other grants of durable estates, it may still be enquired what cause there was to leave out the dates in demises, which were to commence from the time of making them, and to determine not many years after; and likewise in charters purely of confirmation, in writings obligatory, in letters of procuracy, in acquittances of money received, and some other sort of writings, which are found without date.† Petersdorf has adopted the objections of this eminent author,‡ but does not offer an explanation of this remarkable practice.

Madox on undated charters.

Before the seventh century, farms, liberties, and privileges were usually given without writings;§ and Camden, quoting a charter of the Confessor, remarks, that "such was the unsuspecting honor and simplicity of that age, which founded all its security in a few lines, and a few golden crosses; for, before the Normans came in, says Ingulphus, deeds were confirmed by golden crosses and other signatures; but the Normans introduced the custom of authenticating them by a number of seals in wax before three or four witnesses. Formerly many estates were conveyed by word of mouth without writing or deed, only with the Lord's sword or helmet, a horn or cup; and many tenements with a spur, a curry-comb, a bow, and some with an arrow."‖

Simple donations without writings.

* Digest of Laws of Engl., Vol. IV., ch. 20, p. 275.

† Formulare Anglicanum, Dissert., s. xxiv., p. 30.

‡ Abridgment, Vol. VII., p. 664.

§ Hickes, Dissert. Epist., p. 79.

‖ Britan. pp. 340, 341. Edit. 1590, 8vo.—Gough's Camden, Vol. II., p. 121.—An instance occurs in which William the Second in 1096 delivered to the abbot of Tavistock, as seisin, an ivory knife, which was afterwards deposited on the shrine of St. Rumon.—*Dugd. Monast. Anglic.*, Tom. II., p.

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As soon as attestations began to be general, we find the signatures to have been made by persons residing in the most distant parts of a county, as well as in the immediate neighbourhood of the parties interested; and, from the great number of names contained in the major part of them, both Saxon and Norman, it is evident that these instruments were executed at courts leet, county courts, or other large assemblies of the sheriff and freeholders.* In stating the law on this formal part of a charter, Petersdorf has a note of so much historical importance, as to obviate the necessity of an apology for its introduction: "The attestation by witnesses," he says, "is not essential to the deed itself, but only constitutes the evidence of its authenticity. Mr. Justice Wyndham remarked that he had seen several deeds made in Queen Elizabeth's time without witnesses. Modern deeds are nothing more than an improvement or amplification of the *brevia testata*, mentioned by feodal writers, which were written memorandums introduced to perpetuate the tenor of the conveyance and investiture, when grants by parole became the foundation of frequent

Law of dates.

Brevia Testata.

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489. "Hoc denique sciant omnes quod rex per cultellum eburneum quod in manu tenuit et abbati porrexit hoc donum peregit apud curiam, testimonio virorum illorum nomina quorum infra scripta dinoscuntur."—*Ibid. Chart.* n. V., p. 497.

* Nearly the same view has been taken by Messrs. Nicholson and Burn. "The sheriff is often mentioned as a witness to ancient grants, together with divers of the principal gentlemen of the county; and the reason is, these matters, for the greater notoriety thereof, were frequently transacted in the county court, which in ancient times was the court for almost all business."—"Subscribing witnesses were not usual in those days, nor till many ages after. And therefore the writings only mention such and such persons as witnesses, who were generally the principal persons for rank and distinction there present. The truth is, very few people could then write, not even persons of the highest rank and eminence, &c." *Clericus*, which is often affixed to the names of witnesses, they add, does not always signify a clergyman, for this they expressed by *persona*, or, if not benefieed, by *capellanus*. *Clericus* seems commonly the person who wrote the instrument. Gilbert de Wateby was a common conveyancer in the north of England, in the reign of Henry the Third.—*Hist. Westm. & Cumb.*, Vol. I., p. 33, note.

Early conveyancers.

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dispute and uncertainty. To this end, they registered in the deed the persons who attended as witnesses, which were formerly done without their signing their names, (that not being always in their power); but they only heard the deed read, and then the clerk or scribe added their names in a sort of memorandum. 'Hiis testibus Johanne Moore, Jacobo Smith et aliis ad hanc rem convocatis.' This, like other transactions, was originally done *coram paribus*, and frequently when assembled in the court baron, hundred or county court, which was then expressed in the attestation, *teste comitatu*, hundreds, &c. (*Spelm. Gloss.* 228.) Afterwards the attestation of other witnesses was allowed, the trial in case of a dispute being still reserved to the *pares*, with whom the witnesses (if more than one) were assisted and joined in the verdict, till that also was abrogated by the statute of York, 12 Edward II., St. 1, c. 2; and in this manner, with some such clause of *hiis testibus*, are all old deeds and charters, particularly Magna Charta, attested. And in the time of Sir Edward Coke, creations of nobility were still witnessed in the same manner; but in the king's common charters, writs, or letters patent, the style is now altered; for, at present, the king is his own witness, and attests his letters patent thus; *teste meipso*, witness ourselves at Westminster, a form which was introduced by Richard the First, (*Madox*, n. 15,) but not commonly used till the reign of Henry the Eighth, (*Ibid., Diss.*, fo. 32,) which was also the era of discontinuing it in the deeds of subjects, learning being then revived, and the facility of writing more general; and therefore ever since that time, witnesses have usually subscribed their attestations at the bottom or on the back of the deed.*

In consequence of the very great publicity with which the conferring of immunities, and the erection or transference of a manor, were transacted in early times, an opinion might be induced that a date was unnecessary in such cases; and,

* Abridgm., Vol. VII., p. 664 note.

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in fact, it is not now an essential requisite.* The date being optional, some charters are found with, and some without indications of the time of publication. The peculiar circumstances of the Saxon monks after the conquest, might have led them to omit dates in the numerous Latin charters, which they forged in order to secure themselves in their possessions. The practice, thus introduced, would be readily adopted by the Norman invaders, who employed every expedient to plunder them. The Normans were constantly demanding a sight of the written evidences of their lands, and the monks well knew that it would have been useless or impolitic to produce these evidences or charters, from which, the former, besides being ignorant of the language, entertained a strong aversion. They abhorred the Saxon idiom, and administered the laws and statutes in French; even boys in schools were taught French and not English grammar, so that the English, that is the Saxon, manner of writing was lost, and the French manner used in all charters and books.† The monks were, therefore, compelled to the pious fraud of forging their evidences in Latin, and great numbers, till lately supposed original, are still extant.‡ It is not, however, to be supposed that English was totally neglected, even under the Norman princes. Some of the charters of

Forgeries of the Saxon monks.

Prevalence of the French language.

* With regard to the date of a deed, says Mr. Cruise, it may be placed at the beginning or at the end. In deeds indented, it is now usually placed at the beginning; and in deeds poll at the end.—It is not, however, absolutely necessary that a deed should be dated; for if a deed bears no date, or has an impossible date, it will take effect from the time of its delivery; and the time of their delivery is presumed to be the time of their date, unless the contrary appears. Deeds take place according to priority of their dates, or times of their delivery; it being a maxim of the common law, qui prior est in tempore, potior est in jure.—*Digest*, Vol. IV., ch. 20, s. 2, 3, 4, 5, p. 275, 276.

† Ingulfus, p. 61.

‡ Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. I., p. 3, cites Spelm. in Not. ad Concil., p. 215. Stillingfl. Orig. Eccles. Brit., p. 14. Marsham, Præfat. ad Dugd. Monast. Wharton, Angl.-Sacr. Præ., pp. ii, iii, iv. Ingulf., p. 51.

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William I. himself, are in Saxon, and St. Godric and Layamon composed their poems in their native language. A proclamation issued in the 43rd of Henry III., is extant in Somner,* Hickes,† Hearne,‡ and the new edition of Rymer's Fœdera.§ It is certainly written in Normanno-Saxon, though Lord Lyttleton considers it to be "old English," a very loose and indefinite description, for pure Saxon may be so denominated. Robert of Gloucester, in this reign, has a passage in which he says, that the Normans could speak only their own tongue, and that the high-men of the land, who sprang from their blood, held all that speech, which they received from them; for if a man could speak French he was well spoken of. But low men held to English, their native language. And he weens that there is no man in any country in the world, except England alone, that does not hold to his native speech. But well he wots, that it is good to know both; for the more a man knows, the more is he worth. The passage itself is a specimen of English at this period:—

Saxon proclamation in the 13th century.

Norman contempt of the English language.

"And þe Normans ne couþe speke þo bote her owe speche
As speke French as dude atom, & here chyldren dude al so teche.
So þat heymen of þys lond, þat of her blud com
Holdþ alle þulke speche, þat hii of hem nome.
Vor bote a man couþe French, me tolþ of hym wel lute,
Ac lowe men holdþ þe Engligss, & to her kunde speche gute.
Ich wene þer ne be man in world contreyes non,
þat ne holdaþ to her kunde speche, bote Engelond one,
Ac wel me wot vorto come boþe wel he ys
Vor þe more a man con, þe more worþ he ys."‖

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* *Dict. ad v.* unnan.

† Thes., Tom III., Diss. Epist.

‡ Text. Roffens. in fine.

§ Rot. Pat., 43 Hen. III., m. 3, n. 40.

‖ Rob. of Glouc. Chron., p. 364. It will be observed that only two Saxon letters occur in this extract, which is a good specimen of the language throughout the poem. These are the þ or *Thorn*, improperly called *Theta* by Spelman and others; and the ẏ, our y; but in the contemporary proclamation, all the characters are Saxon, and the orthography is, in many por-

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Eight years after the Saxon proclamation of Henry the Third, the first French statute was enacted.* Mr. Hallam notices a proclamation of Edward the First, in the Fœdera, where he endeavours to excite his subjects against the king of France, by imputing to him the intention of conquering the country, and abolishing the English language, which is frequently repeated in the proclamations of Edward the Third.† It is still more singular that the preamble of the statute of 18 Edward III., st. 2, which is itself in French, alleges the very same imputation against the French king. However, in this reign, we find the oldest English instrument known to exist. It bears the date of 1343;‡ and, in 1362, a statute, written in Norman-French, was passed, requiring that all pleas in courts of justice should be pleaded, debated, and decided in English.§ Rymer has inserted an instrument in English, dated 1385. Ralph Higden, about the latter part of the reign of Edward the Third, says, that gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time they are rocked in the cradle; and uplandish men, (i. e. countrymen, lower classes,) will liken themselves to gentlemen with great business for to speak French, for to be the more told of; which is the very remark made by Robert of Gloucester. Chaucer, in his Prologue to the Prioress's Tale, notices the French taught in the schools at this time, with great contempt:—

Oldest deed in English.

General affectation of French.

> "And French she spake ful fetously
> After the scole at Stratforde at Bowe,
> For French of Paris was to her unknowe."

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tions of it, superior to that which prevailed in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. The Saxon prefix ȝe is changed to ı, thus for ȝeſeɒneſſeſ, &c. we have ıſſeɒneſſeſ.

* Stat. 18, Edw. III., st. 2. Barrington, Observ. on Anc. Stats., p. 258.

† Fœdera, Tom. V., p. 490. VI., p. 642, et alibi. Hallam, Vol. III., p. 575.

‡ Ritson, p. 80.

§ Stat. 36 Edw. III., st. 1, cap. 15; enforced by 4 Geo. II., c. 26, and 6 Geo. II., c. 14.

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Sir John Cavendish, lord chief justice, who was beheaded in 5 Richard II., 1382, made his will partly in Latin and partly in French, assigning as the reason of his deviation from the first to the second, that the French language was more natural to himself and was more common, and better known than the Latin;* but of English he takes no notice. The Rolls of Parliament do not contain more than three or four entries in English before the reign of Henry the Sixth, after whose accession the use of the language became common in these records; but French continued to be the language of the court so lately as the reign of Henry the Eighth; and from an epigram of Sir Thomas More, quoted by Daines Barrington,† it appears to have been no better than that of Stratford le Bow:

Will of Ch. J. Cavendish.

Bad French spoken at Court.

> "Crescit tamen, sibique nimirum placet,
> Verbis tribus si quid loquatur Gallice;
> Aut Galicis si quid nequit vocabulis,
> Conatur id, licet verbis non Gallicis,
> Canore saltem personare Gallico."

Other reasons for the neglect of dating charters might exist. As many notaries, scribes, or conveyancers led them to display their proficiency in the technical department of chronology‡ by inserting a multitude of parallel dates, so want of confidence might equally lead others into the opposite extreme of omitting both place and time. To this may be added the excessive ignorance which prevailed during these few centuries.§ In the case of charters to religious houses, the want of the publicity, which seems in a great measure to have superseded the date in laical char-

Neglect of dates in Charters.

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* Et quia lingua Gallica amicis meis et mihi plus est cognata et magis communis et nota quam lingua Latina totum residuum testamenti me prædicti in linguam Gallicam scribi feci, ut a dictis amicis facilius intelligatur.—*Archæol.* Vol. XI., pp. 55, 56.

† Barrington, ibid., p. 427.

‡ Du Cange, Gloss. Med. Æv. Lat. *Paschalis Terminus.*

§ Hallam, Europe in Middle Ages, Vol. III., p. 329 & sqq.

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ters, was supplied by a solemnity in the delivery, which might also have had the effect of rendering them achronical. The charter was laid with great pomp and ceremony upon the high altar; this circumstance is mentioned in the will of Eadgife, queen of Edward the Elder, and often occurs in chartularies and coucher books. In a charter of Warin Bussell, baron of Penwortham, in the reign of William the First or Second, it is said, "This agreement, which Sir Warin made, he confirmed, and deposited upon the altar of the abbey of Evesham;"* and Roger de Montebegon, baron of Hornby, in the reign of Richard the First,† says, in a grant to the priory of Thetford, "I have offered upon the altar the island which is in the mere of Croxton."‡ So that instead of assigning, with Sir Edward Coke, a solitary reason for the existence of achronical charters, it would seem that there are many.

Saxon crosses.

Before the reign of Edward the Confessor, the donor, or whoever was the author of the instrument, after it had been read by the notary, almost always signed with the sign of the cross before his name; but sometimes the notary made the sign of the cross for him, and afterwards those who were present. The witnesses also signed their names in the first person, as ✠ *Ego Dunstanus archipresul confirmavi*, and generally such words as these, *contestor, annui, subscripsi*, followed the name; hence the initiatory formula, *Scripta est hec charta his testibus considentibus.*§ The cross was sometimes inserted in the midst of the word; *Sig✠num;* sometimes over it; and sometimes thus, *Sancte ✠ Crucis*, or *Sancte Crucis ✠ signo.*‖ This use of the cross appears upon a few Norman charters; as in the deed by which

* "Hanc conventionem dominus Warinus factam confirmavit et eam super altare posuit."—*Chartul. de Evesham*, Harl. MSS., Cod 3763, fo. 86.

† Roger de Hoveden, p. 419.

‡ Et obtuli super altare insulam quæ est juxta maram de Croxton."—*Monast. Anglic.*, Vol. V., p. 150.

§ Hickes, Diss. Epist., p. 68.

‖ Ibid, p. 69.

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William the Conqueror gave to St. Cuthbert the royal manor of Herminburch;* in the letters patent granted by Henry the First to the prior and convent of Durham; in that of William, archbishop of Canterbury; and in the charter made by Stephen, in 1127, when he was earl of Bologne;† but all the names have not the cross before them, so that both the Norman and Saxon manner was adopted in this instance. A charter of William, bishop of Durham, in 1082, omits the cross, and the witnesses sign in the third person; "Facta sunt &c. his testibus Lanfranco primate, &c."‡ Persons of inferior rank also adopted the Saxon manner of signing with the cross, as in a charter of Sir Michael le Fleming, preserved by Dr. Kuerden.§

Norman crosses.

Dr. Hickes notices a marked difference in the form of the cross, made by the English before the conquest, and by the Anglo-Normans afterwards. Previous to that event, the English made, with merely black ink, signs of the cross perpendicular, rectangular, or of an oblique angle, the nearest approaching to a rectangle. But after the conquest, the cross was more splendid, having red or golden lines, as well of a perpendicular form, as declining from the perpendicular, and obliquely angular. Sometimes they were of that kind to which heraldic writers have given the name of cross crosslets.‖

Witnesses to charters.

The custom of signing by the witnesses was not rendered so necessary by law, but that the author of the charter might recede from it, as he sometimes did, and merely recited the names of the witnesses, before whom the charter was made, as, 'Now was witness to this Wulfstan the archbishop, and Leofwine the alderman, and Æthelstan the

* Hickes, Diss. Epist., p. 63.

† Ibid. Dugd. Monast., Tom. I., p. 706. Dr. Kuerden's folio MS., p. 216. In the Chetham, or College Library, Manchester.

‡ Hickes, Ibid, p. 73.

§ Lib. cit. ut supra.

‖ Ibid., p. 70, 71.

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bishop, and Ælfred the abbot, and Briteh the monk, and many good men in addition to them.'* This manner of recording the names of the witnesses prevailed long subsequent to the conquest, and hence we seldom meet with charters for several centuries afterwards, which do not terminate with such words as *cum multis aliis.*

Anathema and benediction in charters.

In the majority of Saxon charters, issued previously to the tenth century, and particularly in those by which estates were conferred upon religious communities, the date is often accompanied by an anathema against the violators of the charter, and a benediction on such as should augment the donation. The terms, in which these clauses are usually invested, would alone serve to discover the profession of the scribe, were it not otherwise certain that churchmen were the principal, if not the only conveyancers in these ages of universal ignorance. One or two instances may amuse the English reader. The fabricator of Wulfhere's charter, which must have been made nearly four centuries after the death of its pretended author, prefaces the names of the witnesses with words to this effect:—"May the heavenly porter lessen him in the kingdom of heaven, who lesseneth our gift, or the gift of other good men; and him, who advanceth it, may the heavenly porter advance in the kingdom of heaven." After the date, the charter proceeds,—"Then they laid God's curse, and the curse of all saints, and of all christian folks on whomsoever that should undo anything that was done." The confirmatory rescript of Pope Vitalianus has the menacing clause:—"If any one break anything of this, may St. Peter destroy him with his sword; and may St. Peter with heaven's key undo for him that holdeth it, the kingdom of heaven."† This language is moderate when compared

* Nu pæꝛ þýꝛeꝛ to gepýtneꝛꝛe Wulfꝛtan apceb. ⁊ Leofꝛine Ealdoꝛman. ⁊ Æþelꝛtan b. ⁊ Ælfꝛneð abb. ⁊ Bꝛiteh munuc. ⁊ manig goð man to eacan hem.—*Ibid.*, p. 70.

† Chron. Saxon., ad Ann. 675.

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with the pretended confirmation of the same charter by Pope Agatho:*—"Now will I say in a word, may he be ever dwelling with God Almighty in the kingdom of heaving, who holdeth this charter and this decree; and may he that breaketh it, be excommunicate, and thrust down with Judas and with all the devils in hell, unless he come to repentance. Amen."† The inference to be drawn from these passages, is that such clauses were deemed by the writer necessary to be inserted, in order to communicate to the instruments the appearance of that authenticity to which they were not entitled. King Ethelred, brother of Wulfhere, and four of the witnesses curse the violators of another charter to the abbey of Medeshamstede, or Peterborough.

Remarkable curses.

The anathema becomes more violent in the succeeding century. In a charter, granted by Eadbehrt, king of Kent, without date, but confirmed in the year 738, he says, mildly enough:—"If any one shall maliciously attempt, what we do not believe, to resist any command in this donation, let him know that he will have to render his reasons to God in the day of judgment, this charter remaining in its vigor; and if any enlarge and defend it, may God add his bounties in the land of the living.‡ Behrtulf, king of Mercia, and Sigaraed, king of Kent, in 762, threaten under circumstances of infringement of their respective charters, the penalty of separation from the congregation of the saints in the tremendous day of judgment.§ In a grant of pasture for swine, dated A.D. 762, indiction 15, Eardulf, king of Kent, denounces the infractor to be severed from

* Besides Dr. Hickes's opinion before cited, see Jeremy Collier on this remarkable forgery.—*Eccles. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 107.

† Chron. Saxon., ad Ann., 675.

‡ Si quis vero quod non credimus, contra præceptum meum huic donatione meæ malibolo animo contraire temptaverit, sciat se in die judicii rationem deo redditurum, manentem tamen hanc chartulam nichilominus in sua firmitate.—*Text. Roffens.*, cap. 61. Hearne edente.

§ Sciat se separatum a congregatione omnium Sanctorum in tremendi die judicum, nisi prius emendaverit.—*Ibid.*, cap. 64.

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Almighty God and the fellowship of his holy angels, and to be doomed to eternal perdition, while the charter shall nevertheless remain in its vigor. Offa, king of Mercia, in a charter dated 764, prays that its violator may be deprived in the present life of the blessings of our lord, and lie under the last curse, that he be separated from the company of the saints, to be damned with the wicked to avenging flames, unless he satisfactorily amend that, which, with rash iniquity, he have corrupted.* A most pompous malediction is found in an undated charter of Sigired, monarch of half the province of Kent; if any persons should neglect to observe his charter, and close their miserable days, without making atonement in present life, "may they hear," he says, "the voice of the eternal judge at the end of the world, saying to the impious, 'Depart from me, ye accursed, into the eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.' And may they, who take care to preserve it, hear the voice of the most merciful judge addressing the pious, 'Come ye blessed of my father, partake of the kingdom, which has been ready for you from the beginning of the world.'"† With a multitude of examples like these in his episcopal register, it is not wonderful that Ernulf, bishop of Rochester, was enabled to display that remarkable fund of maledictory eloquence, contained in the form of excommunication, which he composed about 1122.‡

* Sciat, se in presenti vita domini benedictione privatum et in novissima maledictione subjacere, ut a consortio sit separatus Sanctorum, & cum impiis et peccatoribus flammis ultricibus esse damnandum, &c.—*Ibid.*, c. 67.

† Qui se forte observare neglexerint & absque digna satisfactione præsentis vitæ impleverint infelices dies, audiant vocem æterni judicis, sub fine mundi dicentis ad impios, discedite a me maledicti, in ignem æternum, qui preparatus est Diabolo et Angelis suis. Qui vero curaverint custodire, nichilque inrogarint adversi, audiant vocem clementissimi arbitri, inquientis ad pios, Venite benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.—*Ibid.*, cap. 68.

‡ Ibid., cap. 35. Many Spanish canons, as well as charters of the 10th and 11th centuries, are enforced only by anathemas.—*Aguirre, Concil.*, Tom. III. In those cases the clergy had no civil or legislative power; but this reason does not apply to the Saxon hierarchy.

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The anathema among the Saxons was not, however, confined to instruments of donation to the religious. In a memorandum written in the Gospel, that Leofnoth, a slave, had redeemed himself and family from Ælfsy, abbot of Bath, the concluding prayer is, that 'Christ may deprive him of eyesight who shall ever alter the record.'* At the end of the manumission of a female slave of St. Peter's, at Exeter, after mention of all the saints of Christ, the conclusion is, 'whom may he enrage against such as attempt to reduce into slavery her who is now elevated to a better state.'† Another instrument concludes, 'May he have God's curse that ever undoes this contract.' The same malediction is found in another, with the addition of the words, on ecnyſſe, 'to eternity.'‡ At the end of a Normanno-Saxon general acquittance, we read, 'May he who undoes this have the curse of Christ and St. Mary, and all the saints of Christ, ever without end. Amen.'§ And at the end of a special acquittance by William, bishop of Exeter, we have nearly the same formula,—'May he who shall ever undo this, have the curse of God and St. Mary, and all the chosen of Christ ever without end. Amen.'‖

Curse in manumissions,

Some of the Norman charters contain the anathematizing clause: the deed for the foundation of Burscough Priory, in the reign of Richard the First, concludes with a prayer, 'that he may enter the kingdom of heaven, who shall augment the alms; and that he who shall in aught infringe

and in Norman charters.

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* This anathema, which is printed without distinction from the context, seems to have been intended for a distich:

Cyrſt hine ablende.
Þe þyſ æfre aprenðe.
Hickes, Diss. Epist., p. 9.

† Ibid., p. 12.

‡ ⁊ hæbbe he goðef cunſ þe þyſ æfre un-ðo.—*Ibid.*, p. 13.

§ Se þyſ mane unðo. habbe he Cyrtef cunſ ⁊ fce Mane. ⁊ ealle Cyrtef halgena á butan enðe. Amen.—*Ibid.*, p. 15.

‖ Se þe þyſ efre unðo habbe he Godef cunſ ⁊ Sca Mana. ⁊ ealle Cyrtef gecorena. á butan enðe. Amen.—*Ibid.*, p. 16.

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or violate the charter, may be subject to eternal torments with the devil and his angels, unless he come to amendment and make satisfaction.'* An instance of the anathema occurs as lately as 1488; and it is observable that it is employed by a clergyman, John, bishop of Lincoln, in the grant of a manuscript history, respecting which he expresses his doubts of his own right to retain the possession.†

Brevia Testata.

The narrative style of Saxon charters was sometimes adopted by the Norman scribes of the *Brevia Testata*. The sweeping charter by which Roger, earl of Poictou, granted a vast number of English churches to the abbey of Sees, in Normandy, in the reign of William the Conqueror, is an instance from beginning to end. Before the names of the witnesses, the donations of two other persons are introduced: Roger had expressed his permission in the charter to his followers to alienate even the half of their lands to this abbey; Godfrey, the sheriff, it continues, hearing this, gave the tithes of Biscopham, and whatever else he had in Lancashire, his houses, and orchard; and Ralph Gernet gave three men in Suffolk.‡ The agreement of Warin Bussell, before mentioned as entered in chartulary, relates several circumstances in the past tense and in the third person:—"Warin Bussell, with the consent of his wife and

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* Quicunque vero hanc elemosinam aduaxerit vel mantenuerit, per participationem illius ecclesiæ beneficiorum, consequatur regna cœlorum. Qui vero in aliquo violaverit vel infringere temptaverit, com diabolo et angelis ejus, æternis subjaceat pœnis.—*Monast. Anglic.*, Vol. VI., p. 458.

† Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. I., Diss. ii., sign. *b*.—It may be mentioned that Henry the Third, in the 37th year of his reign, came to Westminster Hall, and there in the presence of the nobility and prelates, having lighted candles in their hands, *Magna Charta* was read, the king all the time laying his hand on his breast, and at last solemnly swearing faithfully and inviolably to observe all its contents. At the end of the royal oath, the bishops extinguished the candles, throwing them on the ground, and every one said, "Thus let him be extinguished and stink in hell who violates this charter." Jacob, Law Dict., Art. *Magna Charta*. Edit 1743, 8vo.

‡ Monast. Anglic. Vol. VI., p. ii., p. 907.

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children, before the abbot Robert, and all the convent, granted, &c."* To account for this retrospective matter in charters, we may suppose that such donations were at first made orally, and that the circumstances which attended them, were afterwards recorded in the memorandum; for, in all cases of this kind, something will be found stated, which could not have been known previously as an actual occurrence. It seems to have originally proceeded from a practice which prevailed among the Saxons, of recording the titles to lands in a book, placed in some public repository. Thus, in the well known case of the shire-mote at Ægelnoth's-stone, in the reign of Canute, where a woman disinherits her son, and gives all her possessions to her relation, the wife of Thurcill; the ancient record says:— "Then stood up Thurcill White in the mote, and bade all the Thegns to hold his wife clear of the land, which her relation had given to her; and they did so; and Thurcill then rode to St. Ethelbert's minster, with the leave of all these people who were witnesses, and had it set down in a book of Christ."†

Book records.

Before the time of Edward the Confessor, it was not the custom to append to charters a seal or impression of wax. The false charters of King Edgar and St. Dunstan, says Dr. Hickes, had not formerly a pensile seal, as appears from an examination of the parchment. It was, in fact, a Gallo-Norman custom. Ingulphus not only affirms that the sealing of charters with pensile seals was not in use before the time of St. Edward the Second; but that after that king had introduced the use of them, it was not cus-

Seals.

* "Hec est conventio qui Warinus Bussell cum consensu uxoris sue et liberorum coram d'no Rob. abb'e et omne conventu de Evesham in pleno capitule fecit.—*Chart. de Evesh.*, MS. fo. 86.

† Ða arto ðuncil hpita up on þam gemote. ⁊ bæð ealle þa þægnaſ ſyllan hiſ piſe þa landeſ clæne. þe hiſe mage hiſe ge-uðe. ⁊ heo ſpa ðyðon. ⁊ Ðuncill naþ to ſce Æþelbeohteſ myndſte be alleſ þeſ folceſ leaſe. ⁊ gepitneſſe. ⁊ let ſettan on ane Criſteſ boc.—*Apud Hickes, Diss. Epist.*, p. 4.

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tomary to put several seals on charters of simple donation, but only on conventional charters, to which the contracting parties, whatever their number might be, affixed their seals in the order of signature.* He further says, that the Normans made the validity of their charters to consist in a waxen impression of the especial seal of each person, in the name of three or four witnesses present;† but Dr. Hickes denies that this was the fact, for the charter of Henry the First, confirming the gift of Matilda or Maud to St. Cuthbert and his monks, has only one witness and the great seal. A charter of king Stephen to Ranulph de Muschamp has only the name W. Mark; and the letters patent of William the First to the church of Rochester have only one.‡

The Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-Norman charters differ in other respects; the Christian era is generally wanting in the latter, while in the former, excepting a few of the seventh and eighth centuries, it seldom occurs alone, having for the most part the indiction, the epact, and the month. Thus a charter of king Athelstan, giving lands to the church of Worcester, is dated by the year of the incarnation, the regnal year, the indiction, epact, concurrent, day of the month, the moon's age and the place.§ In Saxon charters the date is sometimes, but rarely, placed at the beginning; it sometimes occurs in the middle, and sometimes, but very seldom, at the end. Lastly, the date of the charter sometimes, but very unfrequently indeed, occurs twice, as in the charter of king Eadred, in which the year of the incarnation 946 is read at the beginning and in the middle.‖

Redundant dates.

While many of the charters, granted during the middle ages, were without any indication of the time, an astonish-

* Ibid., p. 71.
† Hist. Croyl., p. 70.
‡ Text. Roff. 182, apud Hickes, Diss. Epist., p. 75.
§ Bibl. Cott. MSS. Tiberius, A. 13.
‖ Hickes, Diss. Epist., p. 82

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ing redundancy of dates appears in others. A charter of William the First is dated A. D. 1082, indiction 15, epact 29, concurrent 5, lunar cycle 19, and regnal year 16. We also find not only these terms, but the solar cycle, the golden number, paschal term, dominicial letter, the moon's age, the position of the sun and moon in the signs of the zodiac,* Easter day, the kalends of the month, and even the hour of the day, crowded together in the same instrument.† The early writers of annals and chronicles, though they could not agree in commencing the year from the same day, sometimes indulged in this profusion of dates. Taking a few cases almost at random, we find that the death of Edmund the martyr occurred in the year of grace 870, of his age 29, and of his reign 16, on the 12th day before the kalends of December, the second day of the week, indiction 3, and in the 22nd day of the moon's age.‡ The capture of the knights templars, an important event, is loaded with dates:—In the year of our Lord 1306, and the first of Edward II., dominicial letter A, the moon current 16 days, on Wednesday next after the feast of the Epiphany, and in the 4th year of Pope John, all the brethren of the temple were seized in pursuance of the king's mandate and the papal bull.§ In a chronicle, quoted by Dr. Whitaker, the death of a monk is recorded thus:—In the year of our Lord 1309 from his incarnation, on the day of St. Vincent the martyr, died our first abbot, indiction 8, the 2nd year from leap year, dominicial letter D, golden number XIX., and the 3rd year of king Edward II.‖ A battle was fought be-

* See a charter of the year 1079. Nouv. Histoire de Languedoc, Tom. II., p. 303.

† Chart. Baldrici Dolensis Episc. an. 1109, apud D'Achery, Spicil. Aliquot Vet. Script, Tom. VII., p. 196; Chart. Henr. Comit. D'Eu, apud Mabillon, de Re Diplom., p. 594. Madox, Dissert., S. xxi., p. 30. Formulare, No. 225, 231.

‡ Matt. Westmon., p. 135.

§ Hist. Anglic. Script., col. 2531.

‖ Hist. Whalley, p. 531.

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tween the Scots and English on Friday, June 10, 1138, which, to modern ears, is thus obscured by the chronicler, John, prior of Hexham; This battle took place at Clitheroe, on the sixth *feria* or day of the week, the quinzime of the nativity of St. John the Baptist.* A ludicrously turgid date is employed by John Whethamstede to convey the information that the king arrived at St. Albans about Easter, 1458:—The 7th year being completely passed, in the first term of the ensuing year, about that season in which our lord Jesus rode upon an ass into Jerusalem, there to celebrate the passover with his disciples, came our lord the king to the monastery to eat his paschal lamb with his dukes, earls, barons and knights.† In a similar style he designates the end of July as the time when the sabbath or solstice of the year is past, and the sun has gone farther and farther, until he has nearly described all the degrees of the sign Leo.‡

End of the world, in charters.

From a mistaken notion of the import of the six Persian *gahan bars*, or Zoroastrian thousands of light,§ an opinion early obtained that the world would terminate at the expiration of six thousand years, and, in the tenth century, it was every where believed that this period had nearly arrived. Theologians attempted to calculate the precise moment of the end of the world;‖ and numerous charters

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* Hoc bellum factum est inter Anglos, Pictos et Scottos apud Clitherou, feria vi die xv. ante nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno prædicto, i. e. MCxxxviii.—*Sim. Dunelm. Continuat. per Johannem Priorem Hagustaldensem*, p. 261, n. 11.

† Chron. Hearne edente, Tom. II., p. 531.

‡ Ibid., p. 405.

Annus Magnus.

§ Lord, Religion of the anc. Persians, ch. 2. It was the end of the great year of Plato, Aristotle, and the ancient astronomers, "which the spheres of the planets constitute when they come together to the same places where they once met before; the winter of which made the world's deluge, and its summer will make the last conflagration.—*Censorin. de die Nat.*, cap. 18, *apud Strauch. Brev. Chron.*, B. I., c. 5, s. 16.

‖ A Saxon monk of the following century, fixes the great judgment and end of the world at forty days after the advent of Anti-Christ, which seems

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of that age commence with the words, "As the world is now drawing to its close."* The terror inspired by this opinion, seems not to have subsided in 1068, the date of a charter of William the Conqueror, which begins with the alarming annunciation.†

Singular dates.

Events of national importance, and even the transactions of private persons, have been, from whatever motive, selected as the epochs of charters. A Saxon grant of manumission to a serf, in the reign of William the First, requires a minute acquaintance with ecclesiastical history to ascertain the date.‡ So also a charter of Alice de Gant, in 1154, which is dated on the 5th day before the ides of June, in the reign of king Stephen, during the vacancy in the church caused by the death of archbishop William, and while he lies unburied.§ Here all is particular, and yet, except the day of the month, obscure. The remarkable circumstance of the archbishop's death and lying in state seems to have been uppermost in the mind of the clerical notary, who, no doubt, considered it to be a more memorable date than the regnal year of the prince or the year of the nativity. A charter of William de Romana was made

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to have been momentarily expected in the reign of Edward the Confessor:— Þ ꝛecȝaþ bec Þ ꝥý xl. ᵹaȝa ꝑẏnꝛꝛ: Ant ꝺaðe æꝑten þam þæꝛ ꝛe bec ꝛæcȝaþ. ȝepeonþ ꝛe micla ꝺom. ⁊ ðeoꝛ poꝛulꝺ ȝe-enꝺaþ.—*Sermo de Temporibus, Lye edente.* But the cardinal Peter de Aliaco determines this matter with greater precision; "for from the beginning of Aries to the end of Virgo, is equal to half of that space, which is from the beginning of Libra to the end of Pisces; so there ought to be from the birth of Christ to the end of the world, as much time as there was from the creation to the coming of our Saviour. But this space was 2560 years; therefore, from the beginning to the end of the world will be 10,400, at which time all the stars will have finished their orbicular course."—*Strauch. Brev. Chron. ut supra.*

* Hallam, Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. III., p. 339.

† "Mundo accrescentia mala minantur etiam mundi appropinquare exidia.—*Hickes*, Tom. III., *Diss. Epist.*, p. 77.

‡ On þan ᵹæȝ man ꝺiꝺe Orbeꝛn biꝛceop. ⁊ Leoꝛꝛic biꝛceop. On the day of the translation of bishops Osbern and Leofric.—*Hickes, Ibid.*, p. 76.

§ Dugd. Monast. Anglic., Tom. I., p. 312, col. 1. Madox.

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A. D. 1172, on the kalends of April, at the abbey of St. Laurence, in the time of abbot Hugh.* Walter Fitz Gerard, impressed with the importance of the event, dates in that year in which died king Henry, the younger, the son of Alianora and king Henry, and after the death of the same younger Henry, at the festival of St. Michael next ensuing.† A charter of Owen de Bromfield is dated, A.D. 1195, dominicial letter A, on Sunday after the feast of St. Benedict.‡ William the Conqueror has a magnificent date, taken from the completion of the Domesday Survey.§ A charter, conferring upon Alan, count of Bretagne, all earl Edwin's towns and lands in Yorkshire, which is ascribed to the same king, but believed by Spelman to be a forgery, is dated during the siege of the city of York.‖ A charter of the year 1164, is dated on that Easter in which the king banished the relations of the archbishop of Canterbury from the feast of St. Michael, after the consecration of H. archdeadon of Canterbury as bishop of Salisbury.¶ The nativity of patrons of religious houses has been sometimes employed, probably from motives of gratitude, as a convenient point from which to compute the dates of the smaller monkish chronicles.** Trevisa's translation of Higden's

* Ibid., p. 824, col. 1, apud eundem.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., p. 767, apud eundem.

§ "Post descriptionem totius Angliæ."—*Madox, Form.* 396, p. 196. It is a singular circumstance that Bale having mentioned the English name, "Domys daye," and stated that the work in Latin was called "Diem judicii, lib. I." (De Script. Brit., p. 166. Ed. Basil., 1559), Fabricius should mistake the purport of the observation, and say that Bale praises William's *Description of England*, and his *Day of Judgment*. (Biblioth. Med. et Inf. Lat. Lib. VII., p. 404.) The blunder is also found in Gesner, who says that this prince wrote a book concerning the day of judgment. (Bibl. Univers., p. 308.)

‖ "Datum in obsidione coram civitate Eboraci."

¶ Madox, Form. 464, p. 276. "Anno II Henrii Regis Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis exulatus est."—*Annales Waverl.* p. 159.

** Baines, Hist. Lanc., Vol. III., p. 174. Whitaker, Whalley, p. 131.

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Polychronicon has a date of this kind. It was completed, he says, 18th April, 1387, 10 Richard II., "the yere of my lordes age, sire Thomas Berkley, that made me make thys translacion, fyve and thrytty." Perhaps the most singular of historical dates is contained in a charter of William Fitz Walter de Stanes, in 1193: it is taken from the regnal year, and the year of his own marriage.* Modern writers sometimes furnish dates of this kind, which would, unaccompanied by other materials, be attended with equal obscurity: thus the South Sea scheme, which ruined many hundred families, communicated its name to the year 1720, when the bubble was dissipated: —

"What made Directors cheat in South Sea Year."†

Dr. Maty, in 1751, mentions the 'year of the South,' as a remarkable epoch of human weakness, in which sudden opulence threw more people into the madhouse than unexpected reverses.‡

Some of the Carlovingian princes employed the years of their own age, as well as of their reign, in the dates of diplomas, statutes, and public acts; and a charter of a Saxon king, Egfrid, is dated, in a similar manner, in the 40th year of his age, and the 15th of his reign.§

Place of date immaterial.

Irregularity prevailed in naming the place from which charters were granted. It was not unfrequently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon charters. In the charter of Athelstan, before cited, the date is in a city known to all men, which is called London;‖ and in another by which, in the same

* Madox, Form. 509, p. 296.

† Pope's Moral Essays, Epist. III., v. 117.

‡ "Dans l'année de Sud, brilliante époque de la foiblesse humaine, et qui fit peut-être moins de foux qu'elle n'en trouva, on eut lieu de remarquer qu'une opulence subite conduisit plus de gens aux petites maisons que des revers inattendus."—*Journ. Britannique*, Tom. V., p. 244.

§ Dugd. Monast. Anglic., T I., p. 46, col. 2. Madox.

‖ "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCC.XXX., regni vero mihi commissi vi., indictione vii., epacta iii., concurrente ii., septimis Junii

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year, 930, he endowed the church of York with the entire hundred of Agemundernesse, in Lancashire, he particularly states that he grants it at Nottingham, a city well known to all men.* Other charters, on the contrary, name the time, but neglect the place, neither of which is of legal importance: "Not but a deed is good," says Blackstone, "although it mention no date, or hath a false date; or even if it hath an impossible date, as the thirtieth of February; provided the real day of its being dated or given, that is, delivered, can be proved."† As to the place, Petersdorf says, "This custom of dating deeds from a particular place, has long since ceased; for the law courts seem to have had more difficulty in dealing with an impossibility of place, than with an impossibility of dates. It might happen to be dated at a place where the court has not jurisdiction, which seems also to have created a difficulty. These difficulties show the prudence of the common practice, which omits all notice of the place where a deed is made, and for which there can be no necessity, for the maxim is, 'Debitus et contractus sunt nullius loci.' Debts and contracts have no locality."‡

Negligent dates.

Contrasted with the extreme minuteness of some notaries and historians in fixing the time of an occurrence or a grant, is the studied negligence of others. Some charters before the time in which it became usual to date instruments, have the year only; others the year of Christ and the king; others on such a feast day, or such a month, without naming any year. Sometimes the notary rejected the title of the saint whose day is to mark the transfer of

idibus, luna xxi., in civitate omnibus nota, quæ Londonia dicitur."—*Cott. Bibl. Tiber.*, A. 13. There are several errors in the synchronisms of this date.

* "Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 930, regni vero micho commissi 6, in civitate omnibus notissima, quæ Snottingham dicitur."—*Whitaker, Hist. Richmondsh.*, Vol. II., p. 417.

† Comm. B. II., p. 304.

‡ Abridgment, Vol. VII., p. 666.

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an estate, the creation of a privilege, or the conclusion of a treaty, and even went to the length of omitting the millennary number and century, but naming the current year. In the chartulary of the abbey of Melk, a charter of the year 1434, is dated on Kilian's day in the year 34.* This kind of date is also found in some printed books; thus the first quarto edition of Martial is dated on the second of July, MLXXI, for 1471.† The letter of Erasmus, prefixed to the works of St. Cyprian, is dated MLV, instead of 1555. It may be observed that the date, at the end of printed books, is not always that of the impression, but is sometimes that of the composition, for the first printers as well as transcribers with the pen, inserted everything that they found in a manuscript. Strauchius notices that the Jews frequently abbreviate the expression of their epoch, by omitting the millennary number. The learned Jew, Menasseh Ben Israel, published in 1634, a Hebrew bible, at Amsterdam, with the date 395, which in full would be 5395.‡

Inversion of the Roman notation.

The excessive multiplication of festivals and saint-days occasioned an infinite number of the smaller dates, or those which express the precise time. Some historians, who have employed them, have also indicated the day, by the Roman kalends, nones, and ides, which, however, they did not always compute in the Roman manner.§ As these reckoned their days in a retrograde order, the former took the less troublesome method of counting the kalends, nones, and ides exactly as they stand in the kalendar, and the kalends which belonged to one month by the Roman method, were unscrupulously assigned to another.‖ Other writers

* See Gloss. Art. *Century.*

† "Die secunda MLXXI."

‡ Breviar. Chronol., B. IV., c 2.

§ See Gloss. Art. *Caput Kalendarum. Kalendæ.*

‖ The author of the charter of Ethelbert I., in 619, quoted in a preceding page, varies but slightly from the ancient Roman method, in stating, though unnecessarily, the month, and the day before the kalends of the following

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of the middle ages, and particularly the chirographers of charters and authors of statutes, have not been so explicit as to name either the day or the month; so that when, for historical purposes, it is necessary to ascertain in modern terms of chronology the exact date of an instrument, the inquirer is frequently compelled to consult a multitude of hagiological kalendars, legends, and lives of saints, which do not always supply the desired information. The corruption of real names, and the introduction of persons, who have never been canonized,* or, indeed, have never existed,†

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month. Thomas Wikes has followed, in one instance at least, the inconvenient practice of counting the Roman notation in a direct order, and has placed the day of St. Agatha on the fourth day before the nones of February instead of on the nones, "iv. Non. Febr."—*Gale*, Tom. II., p. 40. This is the more remarkable as the iv. non. Febr. is the day of Candlemas, one of the principal festivals in honor of the Virgin Mary. See also Gloss. Art. *Deus Omnium Exauditor est.*

* In a kalendar of saints, in Nicolas's Notitia Historica, March 18 is dedicated to St. Sewall, archbishop of York, whose name is not found in ancient kalendars, unless it occur as a simple obit, or memorandum of his death, which Randle Holme, the authority of the Notitia, has mistaken for a canonical note. Our historians treat Sewall as they would any other priest of sufficient eminence to be mentioned in their works. W. Hemingford barely records his death, in 1275.—*Gale*, T. III., p. 578. Thomas Wikes, less particular about it, says, "circa idem tempus obiit Sewallus."—*Ibid.*, p. 52. And Thomas Stubbs is equally indifferent.—*Decem. Script.*, col. 1726. In addition to these reasons for doubting the propriety of inserting his name in a kalendar, designed to assist in historical researches, is the conclusion of the account of his life. "In ecclesia sua sepultus est, ad tumulum ejus populi magno numero quotidie confluente, a quo inter divos numeratus est, utcunque pontifex infensus hunc ipse honorem invidisset."—*Godwin de Archiep. Ebor.*, p. 48. But if popular clamour were sufficient to confer the honor without the sanction of the church, then it would also be right to insert the names of Thomas Plantagenet, Henry the Sixth, and many others, whose tombs had the credit of working miracles.

† Middleton, in a letter from Rome, mentions some original papers which he found in the Barbarine library, giving a pleasant account between the Spaniards and pope Urban VIII., in relation to saintship. The Spaniards, it seems, have a saint held in great reverence in some parts of Spain, called Viars; for the further encouragement of whose worship they solicited the pope to grant some special indulgences to his altars; and upon the pope's desiring to be better acquainted first with his character, and the proofs

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have swelled the kalendars to an enormous bulk. By these means, the same day may have a hundred saints, real or spurious, and receive its denomination from each, accordingly as the option or caprice of the notary may direct. Not satisfied with the copious variety afforded by the church kalendar, the writers of the middle ages took the names of days, from ceremonies, remarkable customs of monasteries, and from the services or offices, peculiar to the days to which they applied them. In addition to these sources of denomination, local occurrences, provincial customs, popular pastimes, and vulgar superstitions, all gave rise to appellations which cannot always be explained, and which the learned authors of the *Nouveau Diplomatique* seem to have contemplated, when speaking of "the unknown dates of distant ages."

In the Glossary, the passages containing singular or obscure dates, are carefully quoted with exact references; and, in the following section, some popular customs and superstitions connected with known dates, are treated, more briefly, indeed, than their importance in an ethnological point of view, demands; but, perhaps, sufficiently for facilitating the investigation of any obscure indication of time, which they may have occasioned. It was considered better to class these mental vagaries under a general title, than to encumber the Glossary with details and inquiries, which,

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which they had of his saintship, they produced a stone with the antique letters, SVIAR, which the antiquaries readily saw to be a small fragment of some old Roman inscription in memory of one who had been *Præfectus* VIA*Rum*, or *Overseer of the Highways*. To this he adds, that in England they have a still more ridiculous instance of a fictitious saintship, in the case of a certain saint called Amphibolus (Fling-round, or Overall), who, according to the monkish historians, was bishop of the Isle of Man, and fellow martyr and disciple of St. Alban; yet the learned bishop Usher, he says, has produced irrefragable reasons to convince us that he owes the honor of his saintship to a mistaken passage in the old acts or legends of St. Alban, where the *Amphibolus* mentioned and still reverenced as a saint and a martyr, was nothing more than the cloak which St. Alban happened to have at the time of his execution.

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BOOK I.

Doctrine of dates.

though curious and amusing in themselves, might have interfered disadvantageously with its arrangement.

Before concluding these remarks upon charters, it may not be useless to subjoin the diplomatic doctrine of dates as employed in distinguishing the genuine from the forged charters of former times. Dr. Hickes, in his excellent account of Anglo-Saxon and Norman charters, has some instructions which merit attention, to the student of those compositions. 'He that would peruse,' he says, 'the charters of antiquity with advantage, and without risk of error, must carefully notice the time in which an instrument was made, if the date be mentioned. If the time be not specified in it, he must endeavour to discover, in charters of simple donation, whether the donors,—in conventional charters, whether the contracting parties,—and, in letters patent, whether the princes or bishops, in whose names the writings appear, lived or flourished at the time expressed by the charters, under examination. We must enquire, whether, living in the times denoted by the charters, they then enjoyed the titles and appellations, with which they and their names are ornamented and distinguished in the instruments. The same inquiry is also to be made respecting the witnesses; whether they were living at or about the time indicated in the charter; whether they were then designated by the appellations or titles appended to their names; and whether they were contemporary with the authors of the charters which are said to be made in their presence [*iis testibus*]. If the instrument be made without any indication of the time, we must diligently inquire when the author, or the more considerable of the witnesses lived; and, having ascertained this time, we must further inquire whether the witnesses were coeval with the author, or otherwise.* In such an inquiry as is here directed, it will also be proper to ascertain as far as possible, whether the witnesses were contemporary with each other or not; for, in a

* Thesaur., Tom. III. Dissert. Epist., p. 78, 79.

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forged charter, where names might be taken from pedigrees, persons are liable to be brought together, who lived in different ages.

A remarkable circumstance of recent occurrence, shows the absolute necessity of submitting charters to this scrutiny, even though they appear to rest upon the highest authority. The late Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke, keeper of the public records, was deceived by the copy of a pretended charter from Henry the Second to the people of Liverpool, granting to that town the privileges of a sea-port in 1173. The learned gentleman, thinking it an important document, as it was commonly believed that the earliest charter to Liverpool was granted by king John, in the ninth year of his reign, transcribed the copy, and his transcript fell into the hands of Mr. Baines, who, supposing that Dr. Clarke had found the original among the government records, inserted it in his account of that town, at the same time remarking, that the new sea-port seemed to have been of so little importance in 3 John, that its name did not appear in the sheriff's return in the Chancery Roll of that year.* It was afterwards discovered that an attorney of Liverpool, possessing as little honesty as intellect, had fabricated the charter for the purpose of imposing upon Mr. Troughton, a person who was entirely ignorant of charters, their language, style, and circumstances, and by whom it was innocently published in a sort of history of the town. The fact was intimated to Mr. Baines before the completion of his own history of Liverpool, but it does not appear in what manner so experienced and learned a man as Dr. Clarke, came to be deceived. Mr. Baines gives the following account of this curious affair:—"Having received an intimation from a profesional gentleman in Liverpool, that the charter in question was of dubious origin, we have felt it our duty to investigate the facts, and the inquiry has resulted in the conviction that the pretended charter is an

Forged charter to Liverpool.

* Hist. Lanc., Vol. IV., p. 57, note §.

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entire fabrication. Not to mention the bad Latin, 'Et quod homines de Lyrpul *quondum vocant*,' which is no unusual occurrence, however, in mediæval compositions, it appears that there was no such person as Robert, bishop of London, the first witness to this charter, in the reign of Henry II.; and it further appears, that on an examination of the papers of the *ingenious* fabricator after his death, a few years ago, the *original* charter was found amongst them, containing several erasures, made evidently with the design of giving to the fraud an air of plausibility. These circumstances were doubtless unknown to Dr. Adam Clarke, and, in the absence of that knowledge, the charter obtained in his estimation a character for authenticity, to which it was not entitled."*

The fabrication of false charters and acts, which has been charged, if not proved, against the monks of the eleventh century, early directed the attention of diplomatists to the characteristics by which they might be detected. Yet, the importance of charters alone, as authenticating history, may, perhaps, have been exaggerated: that a false charter sometimes contains a true fact, and that a genuine charter may contain a false fact, are observations of Bollandian, quoted by Mabillon,† who adds as a commentary, that the writers of charters often fail in their historical recollections, while forgers are more accurate in their statements.‡ The case of the charter of Henry the Second, just mentioned, is, however, an exception, and justifies the precautions recommended by Dr. Hickes. The diplomatic doctrine of dates, considered among the tests of the authenticity of writings, and as a means of separating the spurious from the genuine, has been disposed in a series of general and particular rules, deduced from the extensive researches and

* Ibid., p. 184; and p. 185, note *.

† "Falsa charta continet veram aliquando expositionem, vera falsam. (Tom. II., p. 331.)"—*De Re Dipl.*, Tom. I., p. 231.

‡ "Fit enim sæpe ut chartarum conditores in commemoranda vetere historia hallucinentur: contra vero falsarii rem accuratius enarrent.—*Ibid.*

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unrivalled experience of the Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Diplomatique*, which must be consulted when the date alone is insufficient to determine the question.

GENERAL RULES.

General Rules of dates.

General dates, in diplomatic language, are such as, without specifying the year, announce only the reign of a prince, the pontificate of a pope, or the episcopacy of a bishop; and specific dates are those which mark precisely the place, day, month, indiction, year of Christ, and the regnal or pontifical year, whether these indications are employed individually or collectively.

Rule 1. The absence, or entire omission of dates in diplomas, is not generally a proof of forgery, or a ground for suspicion.

2. Though the Roman laws disapproved of public acts, in which the day and consulate were not inserted, the requisition of this formality in ages when those laws were no longer obligatory, would have produced great inconvenience.

3. General and remarkable dates afford no reason for suspicion by either their generality or singularity.

4. The omission of one or more dates, as the place, day, month, or year, should not excite a suspicion of those diplomas, in which the deficiency appears.

5. Dates are not to be required in charters, though the latter contain historical notices.

6. Chronological indications, occurring singly and separately, give no reason for even a suspicion, on the solidity of which reliance can be placed.

7. A charter would be convicted as spurious by a singular date, if it were morally impossible it could have been employed, or if dates at that time were inviolably uniform.

8. Dates, of which the formulæ bear no analogy to those which are observed in the age in which the charter containing them was granted, render it very suspicious, particularly if those dates are consonant with a posterior age.

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9. From the erroneous dates of copies no conclusion can be formed against the authenticity of charters.

10. An error in the date of originals is not a sufficient reason to regard them with suspicion.*

11. The authenticity of a charter is not affected by the date *Regnante Christo.*

12. Dates of the reigns of French kings often differ among themselves.

13. To deem a charter false because the date does not quadrate with the true epoch of the reign, is a judgment founded on an illusory rule.

14. A legitimate ground for suspicion may be found in differences in the reigns of the emperors and kings, when it shall be established that their regnal years were computed from a single epoch.

15. The regnal years of the emperors and kings can seldom be reconciled but by accounting as the first year of the reign that in which it began, so that the opening of the civil year make the commencement of the second year of the reign.

16. To reconcile the dates of reigns, it is necessary to consider whether an ancient writer be speaking of a year commenced but unfinished, or of a year complete and elapsed.

17. The strongest arguments against the authenticity of a charter, deduced from differences in regnal dates, generally form a slight probability, or none at all.

18. Great reliance is not to be placed upon erroneous dates, whether of the incarnation, the indiction, or the reign, if the errors are only of one or two years, according to our manner of computation.

19. It is not to be laid down as a principle, that there have been many false charters, of which the chronological

* See Mabillon, de Re Dipl., p. 221. Les Œuvres de M. Cochin, Tom. VI., p. 262, 263. Défense des Droits de l'Abbey de St. Ouen, p. 173. Note of the Benedictines.

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notes are true; it is sufficient to say that they are found in charters of this kind.

20. If transcripts, and particularly printed copies are under consideration, there are many genuine diplomas, of which the chronological indications are inaccurate; if originals, we must not advance that there have been many, but some only.

21. Additions of dates, whether true or false, particularly when they are of posterior usage, and made either in copies or originals, ought not to degrade such compositions to the rank of false or spurious charters.

22. A charter is not to be regarded as spurious, because the date is mentioned differently by two authors.

23. A date in Arabian ciphers, in printed copies, though Roman numerals only were used when the instrument in which they are found was composed, cannot prejudice it, unless the conformity of the copy with the original be indubitable.*

24. Charters are not to be rejected on account of the unknown dates of remote age.

25. Deeds of the same time and place are not to be regarded as false, when their dates are different.

26. It is common to find slight differences in the most ancient monuments. This principle may be adopted as a rule, notwithstanding the conflicting opinion of the père Gernon, who concludes that slight errors in dates proceed

* Dr. Wallis is of opinion that Arabian characters must have been used in England as long ago as 1050, if not in ordinary affairs, at least in mathematical computations, and astronomical tables. He mentions an inscription on a chimney in the parsonage house of Helendon, in Northamptonshire, where the date is expressed by M°. 133, instead of 1133; and Mr. Luffkin furnishes a still earlier instance of their employment, in the window of a house, part of which is a Roman wall, near the market-place in Colchester, where between two carved lions, stands an escutcheon with the figures 1090. The only instance of the use of Arabian ciphers, with which I have met in our early records, occurs in 1283:—

"Johe's le Marescall' r. s. 8^{um} f. et fac. serv. mil."

—*Palgrave's Parl. Writs*, Vol. I., p. 232.

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from forgers, who were too skilful to fall into egregious mistakes, and yet not too skilful to be deceived in their calculations.*

27. When a singular date is found in a certain age and kingdom, the conclusion to be formed from it is, that it was allowed, but we must not infer that it was then in vogue.

28. Though the positive testimony of authors may prove that, in certain places, and at certain times, the year of the incarnation began in this or that manner,† we cannot always conclude that in those places and at those times, ecclesiastical and civil acts, would bear this date.

29. Dates, announcing the epochs of reigns evidently in contradiction to history, ought not to be rejected, and allowed to carry with them the instruments themselves into the same disgrace.

30. Dates, though unknown, if they do not formally contradict history and the unquestionable monuments of antiquity, ought to be received.

31. Variations in the regnal dates of princes in different diplomas, are not a sufficient reason to render them suspicious.

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* See the citations of Bollandian and Mabillon, suprà.

† The Merovingian Franks began the year at March; the popes sometimes at Christmas, sometimes the first of January, and sometimes the twenty-fifth of March, commonly called the day of the Annunciation, and by us known as Lady-day. Under the Carlovingians two commencements of the year obtained; one at Christmas, and the other at the moveable feast of Easter, by which it happened that the same year, as 1358, contained two months of April, one entire, and more than two-thirds of the other. After 1564 the French commenced the year at January 1, but until 1572 we sometimes began at Christmas, sometimes March 25, and sometimes January 1. See *Annunciatio, Annus ab Incarnatione, Kalendar, Years of Christ.* The embarrassment, says M. Koch, which results in chronology, as well from the difference of styles as from the different commencements of the year, is evident. Nothing is easier than to mistake, and to seem to find contradiction where none exists; for those who employ these different styles, or commence the year diversely, give no intimation of their epoch, and all of them date from the year of the incarnation, without stating whether they begin the year with the month of March, at Easter, or at Christmas.—*Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe,* Tom. I., p. 37.

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32. *A false rule.* Errors, in dates of original charters, appear and ever will appear a certain proof of falsification.

33. Charters are not always to be regarded with suspicion because their dates seem contradictory, and to be contrary to contemporaneous authors.

PARTICULAR RULES.

Particular Rules.

1. The dates of the day, the consulate, and the indiction, appear in ecclesiastical acts of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.*

2. After the sixth century, the Spanish and French bishops began to date by the regnal years of their princes.

3. The date of the incarnation, or the years of Christ, in some public acts of the eighth century, is not a sufficient reason to account them false, provided they are not anterior to the sixth century.

4. After the year 740, the date of the incarnation ought not to excite the slighest suspicion against acts of councils, even those of France.†

5. The affected multiplication of dates in charters, is no proof of imposture, nor ought disadvantageous suspicions to be formed of those compositions in which they are found, particularly from the ninth to the fourteenth century.

6. After the eighth century, dates of episcopacy, ordination, and pontificate, should awaken no suspicion of those acts in which they occur.

7. A diploma of the Merovingian monarchs would be false, if it contained the date of the consulate or the imperial year.

8. French kings of the first race very seldom dated their

* In papal bulls, before the sixth century, the date of the day is expressed by kalends, nones, and ides; but, toward the end of that century, some bulls have the day of the month numbered from the first, instead of the kalends, nones, and ides, which, when used, appear to have been computed after the Roman manner. See Gloss., Art. *Kalendæ.*

† Acts of Council only. There are many royal Saxon charters of the seventh century with these dates, as already observed. See Rule 11.

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diplomas by the indiction, though that date was employed in their councils.

9. No royal diploma of the Merovingian race is dated with the year of the incarnation; if that date appears, it must have been added by a posterior hand.

10. The *formula*, "feliciter," is frequently used at the end of dates, and in the subscriptions of royal diplomas anterior to the tenth century.

11. Dates of the indiction, and years of the incarnation, in diplomas of English kings of the seventh century, are by no means suspicious.

12. Diplomas of Charlemagne, dated by the indiction and years of the incarnation, before and after he became emperor, ought not to be rejected, if they are not reprehensible on other accounts.

13. Charlemagne and Otho I., soon after their elevation to the throne, computed their regnal years as if they had ended at this last epoch, so that the months which remained to be counted in their reigns in order to complete their years, are omitted.

14. In the imperial and royal chanceries of Germany and France, particularly in the ninth century, the regnal years are sometimes counted by marking a new year at the commencement of each civil year, so that a prince who had reigned only a few months of one year, reckoned the second year of his reign after the first of January of the following year; and the same of other years.

15. The Roman indiction was followed, at least from the ninth to the fourteenth century, though this usage underwent many variations. The Constantinian indiction, employed in the same age, became most common in France and England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*

16. The indiction, very rare in French diplomas previous to Charlemagne, was commonly employed by the Car-

* See Gloss. Art. *Era*, tit. *Correspondence of some epochs with the years of Christ.*

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lovingians and Capetans in the middle of the twelfth century.

17. Before the reign of Charles the Fat, which began in 876, the date by the year of the incarnation was rare in French diplomas; but before the reign of Hugh Capet it was frequent, without becoming the ordinary usage.

18. The formula, "Regnante Christo," was common in charters from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, but it was generally accompanied by other chronological indications.

19. Chronological errors are not sufficient to cause the rejection of diplomas and other writings in which they are found, unless the errors are intolerable.

20. Charters, of which the dates differ one or two years, from the vulgar era, particularly in the eleventh century, ought not to be suspected on that account.

21. An act dated in the year of grace, before the twelfth century, should be suspected.

22. A charter of the ninth or the following century, dated by the current year only, without the centuries or the millennary number, should not be rejected.*

23. From the eleventh century, at the latest, the custom of commencing the year at Easter existed, without occasioning the exclusion of other computations; but it was not common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

24. Dates in Arabian ciphers raise suspicion of those charters in which they are found before the sixteenth century.

25. From the seventh to the thirteenth century, there are innumerable title-deeds and charters, which, though devoid of all dates, are neither less authentic nor less valid.

26. Regal charters of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, must not be suspected because they are dated from a place in which the king could not have been at that time.†

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* See Gloss., Art. *Century*.

† Innumerable instances of such dates occur throughout Rymer's Fœdera.

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27. Decrees of judges [des baillis] and their deputies, dated from Paris, out of their jurisdiction, are exempt from suspicion.

Additional Rules.

In the consideration of English charters of whatever kind, the following circumstances may be noticed:—

1. The formula, *Teste Meipso*, is peculiar to royal diplomas of this country, and was first introduced by Henry the Second, by whom it was frequently used.*

2. The words *Hiis Testibus*, in royal diplomas, are peculiar to that species designated as charters, and continued to be the ratifying formula until the 12th year of the reign of James the First, when charters were merged in letters-patent.

3. The royal style of charters and other acts, previous to the reign of Richard the First, was in the first person, *ego;* the plural number, *nos*, was introduced by this king.†

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* Rotuli Literarum Clausarum, Introd., p. xviii, xix. A letter from Richard the First to his mother and the justiciaries of England, bears the date, "Testibus *nobis ipsis* apud Hagenou xiii. cal. Maii, anno regni nostri quinto."—*Rymer, Fœdera*, Tom. I. p. 726. A few months preceding the date of this letter, which corresponds with our 19 April, 1194, he writes in the incongruous style, "Teste *nobis metipsis* prima die Octobris."—*Roger de Hoveden*, p. 698. *Rymer*, p. 54 and p. 60. Our counts palatine sometimes used this formula: a charter of Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester, is extant, with the words "Teste meipso."—*Harl. MSS., Codex* 7386.

† Speaking of two undated charters granted to the city of Chichester by king Henry, the parliamentary commissioners of municipal corporations say, "It is not specified which Henry granted this and the following charter; we have assigned them both to Henry II., as the grantor uses the singular number 'I,' instead of 'We,' which seems not to have been the practice in the reign of Henry III."—*Report*, Part II., p. 715, s. iii. See also p. 843, s. iii. From a passage in Erasmus, quoted by Daines Barrington in his Observations on Ancient Statutes, or in a note, it would appear that king John was supposed by the learned foreigner to have introduced this style; and the same error is positively asserted by the anonymous author of the History of the High Court of Parliament in init., 8vo., Lond. 1731. He adds as the reason of the change in style, that the king by employing the plural number, wished to have it believed that his own act was the joint production of himself and his barons. M. Durand observes, that in all languages,

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4. Charters and deeds of subjects, in which the *Tenendum* is "de me et hæredibus meis," are very frequently, though not always, without date; but they are anterior to the year 1290;* and an approximation to the time of their publication may often be obtained from the names of the witnesses, among whom will frequently be found the sheriff of the county, signing in his official capacity.

5. Charters, in which the *Tenendum* is "de capitalibus dominis feodi," are subsequent to the year 1290, and are usually dated.

6. In our printed records, the words "*Per Breve*," in the attestation of royal charters, signify instructions given by letter.

7. The words *Per ipsum Regem*, signify that the order was formally given by the king himself;—

8. *Per eundem*, *Per eosdem*, by the same persons who attest; and,—

9. Per M. N. N. O., by that person whose name is subscribed.

Errors in tables of regnal years.

Considerable errors, sometimes amounting to six or seven weeks, arise from the tables, which have hitherto been constructed, of the regnal years of our early kings. They have all, not excepting Mr. (now Sir Harris) Nicolas's useful Notitia Historica, been formed on the modern law maxim, that the king never dies, and the principle that no interregnum, therefore, has occurred from the decease of a king to the reign of his successor. The following remarks, with their appendant notes, are extracted from the General Introduction to Close Rolls:† "King John did

ancient and modern, the plural of the first person sometimes takes place of the singular.—*Eclaircissemens sur le Toi et sur le Vous. Journ. Britan.*, Tom. XI., p. 301.

* In consequence of the statute, "Quia Emptores Terrarum," made in 18 Edward I., which enacted, that the feoffee shall hold his land of the chief lord, and not of the feoffor as heretofore.

† Rot. Lit. Claus., p. xxxiv., xxxv.

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not assume the royal dignity and prerogative until he had been crowned, although his brother Richard had been dead seven weeks;* and the reign of Henry III., like that of his father, was reckoned from the day of his enthronement.† The accession of Edward I. was held to be the day of his recognition, and not upon the day of his father's demise, which happened four days previously.‡ The fact that all the rolls of Chancery, namely, the patent, charter, close, and fine rolls, commence the regnal year of each king agreeably to this mode of computation, supports this hypothesis, and moreover it does not appear that any of the early English monarchs exercised any act of sovereign power, or disposed of public affairs till after their election or coronation." A charter is extant, dated in the second year of king John's coronation;‖ and with respect to Henry III., the fact mentioned above is placed beyond dispute by the date of the Saxon proclamation, which has been mentioned in a preceding page. It is stated in these terms: 'Witness ourselves at London, on the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our coronation.'

* Richard died 6 April, 1199, [See Gloss., Art. *Dominica in Ramis Palmarum.*] king John was crowned the 27th of May following, which was the Ascension-day, and his regnal year was computed from one Ascension-day to the next; consequently some of the years of his reign exhibit an increase of seven weeks more than others, owing to the day of his coronation being that of a moveable feast, which of course sometimes fell earlier or later, as Easter happened.

† Henry III. was not elected king till the feast of Simon and Jude, and his coronation took place on the following day, though John had then been dead since the 18th. "Il est remarquable qu'on ne commença à dater du regne de ce prince que du jour de son courounement, comme l'est remarque dans le Livre Rouge de l'Echiquier. 'Notandum,' y'est il dit, 'quod data Regis Henrici filii Johannis mutavit in festo Apostolorum Simonis et Judæ, viz. 28ª die mensis Octobris.'"—*L'Art de vérifier les Dates.*

‡ Anno 1272, in November, died Henry, in the 57th year of his reign, beginning on the feast of Simon and Jude of the preceding month.

Anno 1272, November, on the feast of St. Edmund, Edward began to reign after his father's burial.—*Ex Vet. Memb. in Turr.* Lond.

‖ "Anno ij° coronationis regis Johannis, &c."—*Madox, Formulare Anglicanum*, N. 464, p. 276.

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Wrtney up feluen æt Lunbæn. þane extetenþe bay on þe monþe of Octoben. in þe tpo ⁊ fopentigþe zeane of une cnunninge. In the case of Richard I., the present tables are still more wide of the truth than in that of John; for between the decease of his father and his own coronation, no fewer than fifty-six days intervened. It is, therefore, necessary for those who desire historical accuracy, to note these circumstances in the reigns of our early monarchs; because, if modern historians have reduced the regnal years of those princes, who commenced not from their accession, but from their recognition and coronation, to the vulgar era without examining which manner of dates was adopted by their authorities, it is more than probable that some events are ascribed to a wrong year. For this reason the regnal years from the conquest to the end of the reign of Edward the First should be recomputed according to the preceding principle. To the tables of regnal years ought to be added the dominicial letters and the Easter days, the keys of the moveable feasts. By this obvious improvement, and with the assistance of the kalendar, the reduction of the ancient expression of dates into modern terms would be very considerably expedited.

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BOOK II.

POPULAR CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS CONNECTED WITH DATES.

"Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur."—
TACITUS.

Section I.

BOOK II.

Ethnic origin of church festivals.

MANY of the festivals in the church kalendar are of high ethnic antiquity, and some of the customs connected with them, are so remote and obscure in their origin, that a satisfactory explanation cannot always be reasonably expected. It has long been well known, that the fathers of the church, as a means of extirpating heathen superstitions, adopted many of the pagan festivals, of which they merely changed the names into others more consonant with christianity. In this way, the *Feast of St. Peter's Chair** displaced the *Charistia Virorum*,† though imperfectly; for the memory of the pagan customs attendant on the *Cara Cognatio*, was preserved in one of the synonymes of its Christian successor.‡ In other cases, the customs alone are identified with the mythological rites of Greece and Rome, themselves deriving an origin in still more remote forms of idolatry; thus Christmas, the season of the year in which the orgies of Bacchus and the Saturnalia were celebrated, was, like those and other Cabiric festivals

* See Gloss. Art. *Cathedra Sancti Petri.*

† Ovid, Fast., Lib. II., v. 533 et sqq.

‡ See Gloss. *Festum Sancti Petri Epularum.*

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in honor of the sun, attended by revelry and merriment. Several of the feasts, instituted in commemoration of the Virgin and Apostles, and particularly the customs which extensively prevailed in Christendom on the eve of the Baptist, are, under other designations, ethnic celebrations of the sun's entrance into different constellations of the zodiac. The infernal dragon, which was formerly paraded in the processions of the Rogations, in all Christian churches, and which was the symbol of the monster destroyed by the valour of St. George, in one place; of St. Romanus, in another; and of St. Martha, St. Radegundis, and other holy warriors in different places, has been demonstrated to be the astronomical monster slain, for the relief of Andromeda, by Perseus,* whose very name proclaims his identity with the sun.† "You," said Faustus, the Manichean, to St. Augustine, in the fifth century, "have substituted the ceremonies of your love-feasts in the place of sacrifices, martyrs instead of idols, and you honour them as the Pagans

Symbolical dragon.

Perseus and Andromeda.

* By M. Lenoir, in the Memoires de l'Academie Celtique, Tom. II. M. Eusebe Salverte, in a clever discussion on the legends of the middle ages, compares M. Lenoir's demonstration to the egg of Columbus; 'You have,' he says, 'established your opinions on proofs so clear and convincing, that we should be astonished that we had not previously discovered it, if we did not remember the anecdote of the egg, which is applicable to all discoveries supposed easy to be made—when they are made.'—*Mag. Encyclopedique*, An. 1812, Tom. I., p. 24 et sqq. I have little doubt that the coincidence between the mythological and legendary adventures of the dragon and its destroyer, had often been observed before M. Lenoir. Our own Gibbon, we shall see, had previously hinted the connection.

† P'Eres Zeus, the sun. It is remarkable, says Mr. Faber, that the story of Perseus and Andromeda is well known to the Hindoos. A pundit, being requested to point out in the heavens the Hindoo constellation of Parasica and Antarmada, immediately pitched upon that of Perseus and Andromeda. —*See Asiat. Researches*, Vol. III., p. 222. As for Perses, the fictitious son of Perseus, he was, like his father, no other than the sun: Περσην τον ἡλιον λεγει.—*Schol. Hesiod. Theog.*, p. 269. *Faber, Diss. on Cabiri*, Vol. II., p. 105. Sir Francis Palgrave says, that "Mythology has not been diffused from nation to nation, but all nations have derived their belief from one primitive system," which he finds to be Sabæism.—*Quart. Review*, 1820, Vol. XXII., p. 352.

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do their deities, by votive offerings. You appease the manes of the dead by wine and festivals. You celebrate the feasts of paganism, by observing days: and, in regard to their morals, you preserve them entire, and have altered nothing."*

Worship of the stars.

The mythological deities, of whose rites numerous relics are yet to be found in the Christian world, have repeatedly been traced to that idolatry, which, in the earliest ages, adored the host of heaven instead of the creator of the universe. The sun itself even furnished the Greeks and Romans with their generic appellation of divinity :† and to that planet Macrobius refers all the gods of the mythological

* August. Oper. Contra Faustum Manichæum, Lib. XX., cap. 3. Robinson, Ecclesiast. Researches, ch. IX., p. 194.

† Mr. Burgess satisfactorily derives the name of Jupiter from Δεος πατηρ, *Deus pater;* but then he observes, that he was called *Diespiter*, not because he was *diei pater*, father of the day, but because he was *deus* or *dius pater*, God the father; for anciently *dius* signified not only a *god*, but also *day*, whence *diu* and *sub dio;* and thus *dies*, day, signified also *God;* for on comparing the etymologies (not those commonly received) of *Deus*, ἐως, *divus*, *dives*, *dius*, *dies*, *dis*, it appears that the names of *dies* and *dius* were originally synonymous; and that the name of *God* was denominated from *day*, or the *sun*. In support of this etymon, he cites some passages in which Jupiter is named as *Diespiter.—Plaut. Captiv.* II., 4, 1. [IV., 4, 1.] *Poen.* III., 4, 29, and IV., 7, 47; and *Hor. Od.* I., 34, 5, and *Od.* III., 2, 29. In these verses, he observes, Jupiter is introduced as the object of fear and adoration; the rewarder of the good, and the avenger of the impious. The proposed explanation, he says, will restore an appellation more consistent with those offices, by which he will be considered not as the *father* of *day*, but in a higher and more awful character, *the father of Gods and men;* and it will confirm the above explanation if we observe that Pluto (Dis) was also called *Diespiter*, not surely because he was father of day, but as the *dius pater*, the *Jupiter Infernus.—Study of Antiquit.*, p. 69, 70 note. Thus even in rejecting the usual etymology, the connection between the name of the sun and the heathen deity is confessed. There is another etymology of *dius*, from *dih*, a hawk, under the form of which the Egyptians, according to Porphyry, emblematized the sun; of *divus* from *dib*, a jackal, another solar emblem; and of θεος, whence *deus*, from θειν, to run, making those words synonymous with planet, from πλανειν, to wander; while ζευς has its root in ζαω, I live. The northern nations have the name of God, of which the German *Gott* is the principal variety, from the quality *good*, which is not the object of the senses, and which is more consistent with the divine nature

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systems;* but, without adopting this opinion in its full extent, it may be observed that Apollo, Mercury, Hercules, and Bacchus, who are each variously denominated in the eastern, western, and northern systems, are personifications of the sun, particularly at the commencement of the seasons, and that the rites, which were paid to them, seem to have been transferred to the north and south of Europe at different times, by emigrants from the oriental regions, in which their fabulous or symbolical adventures were feigned. We are not, therefore, to consider it extraordinary, that Celtic, Gothic, and Asiatic ceremonies, customs, and fables are frequently analogous to Grecian and Roman; or that they are sometimes found blended together. Nothing is more certain than the existence of festivals celebrated by all these nations on the departure and return of the sun. "The natives of the polar circle," says Procopius, "enjoy and lose the presence of the sun at each summer and winter solstice during an equal period of forty days. The long night of his absence or death was the mournful season of distress and anxiety, till the messengers who had been sent to the mountain tops, descried the first rays of returning light, and proclaimed to the plain below the festival of his resurrection.† In like manner, and for the same reason, these periodical recurrences were celebrated by the Egyptians and others:—

Personifications of the sun.

Gothic and Egyptian solar rites.

> "Nam rudis ante illos nullo discrimine vita,
> In speciem conversa, operum ratione carebat,
> Et stupefacta novo pendebat lumine mundi:
> Tum velut amissis mœrens, tum læta renatis
> Sideribus."‡

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than the coarse conceptions of the mythologists. But we are dealing with words only, and not with theology.

* Saturnal., Lib. I.

† Hist. Bell. Goth., Lib. II., cap. 15, apud Gibbon, Decline, Vol. VII., ch. 39. In note 42, our historian observes that, according to M. Bailly, the phœnix of the Edda, and the annual death and revival of Adonis and Osiris, are the allegorical symbols of the absence and return of the sun in the arctic regions.

‡ Manil. Astron., Lib. I., v. 64.

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Thammuz or Adonis, Bacchus, and Osiris, forms of the sun.

In the mystical language of the priests, the sun was personified,* and feigned to be slain by an implacable enemy, the emblem of winter, on his recession to the southern hemisphere: thus Adonis slain by the boar, Bacchus torn by the Titans, and Osiris persecuted by Typhon, are all typical of the same phenomenon, which was the subject of an annual festival in Syria.†

> " —— Thammuz came next behind,
> Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
> The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
> In am'rous ditties all a summer's day;
> While smooth Adonis from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
> Of Thammuz yearly wounded."‡

Hilaria.

The remains of these sombre festivals are still to be found in the customs which are observed by different nations at the brumal equinox, as are others of the gayer celebrations of the arrival of the vernal equinox, such as the *Hilaria* of the Romans, on the 25th of March, in honor of the Cabiric mother of the gods, which are perpetuated in some of the festivities at Easter. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, who flourished about A.D. 270, was the first of those 'holy men' mentioned by Beletus,§ as having endeavoured to attach the people to the new faith, by permitting them to observe their ancient festivals under Christian appellations;

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* The principal personifications of this luminary are enumerated by Ausonius in his epigram on Bacchus.

> " Ogygia me *Bacchum* vocat;
> *Osirin* Ægyptus putat;
> *Mystæ* Phanacen nominant;
> *Dionyson* Indi existimant;
> Roma sacra *Liberum*;
> Arabica gens *Adoneum*;
> Lucaniacus *Pantheum*."
>
> *Epigr.* XXIX. *Heidelb.*, 1688.

† " He brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and, behold, there sate women weeping for Tammuz."—*Ezek.*, ch. VIII., v. 14. *Tamuz*, the sun, is also the name of tenth month of the Jews, which includes part of our May and June.

‡ Paradise Lost, B. I., v. 446.

§ Apud Durand. de Divin. Offic., Lib. III., cap. 8.

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Objects of the early fathers.

but whether the good father and his pious coadjutors exercised a sound policy in perpetuating the superstition, while they merely directed it to another object, is not a topic for present discussion. Their purpose was to make proselytes, and to corroborate those who had already embraced christianity, and it succeeded. This method was subsequently adopted by Gregory the Great, whose express commands on the subject to the abbot Mellitus, are preserved by the venerable Beda.* At a subsequent period, the authority of the church was repeatedly exercised to remove the relics of paganism, which had thus been incorporated with the semi-christianity of the middle ages; but it was difficult to eradicate inveterate errors, for vanities, says Martin Lipenius, continue to adhere like bird-lime, while the virtues, which shine with splendour, quickly perish.† What the church attempted in vain, and the reformation failed to effect, will be very shortly accomplished by the powerful agency of a more widely diffused and rational system of education. The absurdities, noticed in the following pages, exist in scarcely any other than rural districts; and the childish and boisterous sports which delighted our undisciplined ancestors, have nearly all disappeared before the intellectual amusements and occupations now generally within the attainment of the bulk of the people.‡

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* Hist. Eccles., Lib. I., cap. 20.

† "Inveterata firmiter hærent; nec facile eradicantur, quæ diu radices egerunt. Vanitatum illecebræ, ut viscus, adeo tenaces sunt, nec quicquam citius perit, quam quæ honestorum splendore corruscant."—*Hist. Strenarum, Æt.* IV., sect. 1, *apud Grævium Thesaur.*, Tom. XII., p. 460.

‡ Of a different opinion is the author of an ancient poem called 'Now a dayes,' preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth:—

"We Englishmen beholde
Our ancient customs holde
More preciouser than golde,
Be clene cast away:
And other new be fownd,
The which ye may vnderstond
That causeth all your lond
So gretly to decay."

Biblioth. Lambeth MSS., Codex 159, art. 29.

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As the popular rites and superstitions, the "festa domestica," which accompanied the celebrations of the church, could not be conveniently noticed in the Glossary, they are here separately treated. The labours of Du Cange, of Bourne, and his editors and continuators, Brand and Ellis; of Strutt, Forster, Jamieson, and others, have almost superseded the necessity of an original investigation; but adopting, with proper acknowledgements, such of their discoveries and deductions as the subject seemed to require, a few additional facts, derived from personal information or escaping their researches, and several illustrations hitherto unnoticed, are interspersed through this essay. In some instances an attempt has been made, with the assistance chiefly of Bryant and Faber, to pierce those dark and remote ages of idolatry, which are unknown to the records of history, but of which, it is supposed, traces remain in existing languages and customs. The marginal authorities, indispensable in a compilation of this nature, are, when due to another, as carefully assigned to him, as those which are professedly quoted from him. Besides the justice, which obviously required this course, another reason existed equally imperious; an opportunity of verifying the borrowed quotations was not always to be obtained.

In a beautiful description of spring by its mythological concomitants, Horace has compressed within the limits of a single ode, the principal religious observances of that season.* His poem suggests a commodious method of treating the vulgar superstitions which accompanied the Christian festivals, without much disturbance of their order in the kalendar. The seasons themselves have had considerable influence in the production of stated observances, and it seems, therefore, adviseable to consider under each, those festivals which concur in that period, as much as possible according to the ancient rather than the modern distribution of the year. Analogous opinions, practices and superstitions will, by this means, be classed under a

* Od. I., 4. Solvitur acris hyems, &c.

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general head, which will render reference to them more convenient in chronological investigations; for it is probable, that dates, hitherto obscure, may receive a new light from the ideas and recollections, which a collected arrangement is calculated to excite. To facilitate such investigations, the various names by which each festival is known to have been distinguished, are placed at the foot of the page.

Ancient distribution of the seasons.

As winter commences the year, the subjects of the following pages are treated from the beginning of that season, according to the ancient verses:—

> "Dat Clemens hyemem; dat Petrus ver Cathedratus;
> Æstuat Urbanus; Autumnat Bartholomæus."*

This division is not strictly correct; but it affords a convenient medium between the earlier distribution of the seasons by the Saxons,† and that which prevails in the present day, If on perusal, some matters appear puerile and absurd, and what superstition is not eminently so? let it be remembered, that they are mentioned with important objects in view, and that many of them, owing their origin to the universal adoration of the starry firmament, carry us into regions of antiquity too remote for the attainment of records. With respect to some other parts, an observation by the biographer of Peter the Great, on a childish ceremony, is strictly applicable: "These are trifling particulars; but whatever revives the remembrance of ancient manners and customs, is in some degree worthy of being recorded.‡

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* Du Cange, Glossar. Mediæv. Latin. Tom. I., col. 882.

† See Gloss. Dates, Art. *Æstatis, Autumni, Hiemis, Veris—Initium.*

‡ Smollett's Transl., ch. IX., p. 357.

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Section II.

WINTER.

"Dat Clemens Hyemem ——."

BOOK II.

St. Clement.

THE festival *day of St. Clement*, November 23, was formerly considered as the first day of winter, in which were comprised ninety-one days.* From a state proclamation in 1640, it appears that processions of children were frequent on St. Clement's day; and in consequence of a still more ancient custom of perambulating the streets, on the night of this festival, to beg drink for carousing, a pot was formerly marked against the 23rd of November upon the old Runic or clog almanacs;† but not upon all.‡ The proclamation was "devised by the king's majesty, by the advys of his highness counsel, the xxii day of Julie, xxxiii Hen. viii., commanding the feasts of saint Luke, saint Mark, saint Marie Magdalene, Inuention of the Crosse and saint Laurence, which had been vsed, should be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days." And, following the example of the synod of Carnot, which, in 1526, had decreed that no scholars, clerks, or priests should, under pretence of recreation, enact any folly or levity in the church, on the feast of St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, the Innocents, or any other day, and that the garments of the fools performing theatrical characters should be cast out of

Proclamation of Henry VIII. for holidays.

* IX. Kal. Dec. S'ci Clementis P'pæ & m'ris. Incipit hyems et habet xci. dies. See Kalend. Vitellius and Titus, infra. The Saxons considered November 7 as the commencement of winter, to which they allotted ninety-two days.—*Vide Bridfrith. Ramesiens. de Computo Eccles. MS. (Bibl. Ashmol. Cod. 6682.) Somn. Dict. Angl. Sax.* v. Tiþ.

† Dr. Plott's Hist. Staffordsh.

‡ Gough's Camden, Brit., Vol. II., Pl. xvi., p. 490.

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the church;* Henry concludes his proclamation thus:— "Where as heretofore dyuers and many superstitious and chyldysh obseruances haue be vsed, and yet to this day are obserued and kept, in many and sundry parts of this realm, as vpon saint Nicholas, saint Catherine, saint Clement, the holy Innocents, and such like, children be strangelie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit priestes, bishoppes, and women, and so be ledde with songes and daunces from house to house, blessing the people and gatheryng of money; and boyes do singe masse and preach in the pulpitt, with svche other vnfittinge and inconuenient vsages, rather to the derysyon than any true glory of God, or honor of his sayntes: The kynge's maiestie therefore myndinge nothinge so moche as to aduance the true glorie of God without vaine superstition, wylleth and commandeth that from henceforth all svch superstitious obseruations be left and clerely extinguished throwout his realme and dominions, for asmvche as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition of Gentilitie, than the pure and sincere religion of Christe."

Prohibition of childish ceremonies.

To St. Clement the attributes of one or another of the many Vulcans, in whom antiquity rejoiced,† seems to have been transferred; for he is the patron saint of anchor smiths, as St. Crispin is that of cobblers, and the festival of each is celebrated by his pupillary artisans. At Woolwich an annual ceremony is performed by the blacksmiths and their apprentices in the dock yards, on the eve of St. Clement, who is represented by one of the latter, borne in a chair on the shoulders of six men. No explanation is given of this ceremony, nor is it known why St. Clement should be considered the patron of the trade. The *Vulcanalia* were celebrated on the 22nd of August, and the god was the tutelary deity of the kalends of September, so

Vulcanalia

* Bochill. Decret. Eccl. Gall., Lib. IV., tit. 7, cap. 43, 4, 6, p. 586. Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. III., p. 323 *note*.

† Cic. de Nat. Deorum, Lib. III., cap. 22.

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that there is no correspondence in the times of the festivals. The procession of the blacksmiths is probably a relic of the ancient village perambulations for liquor, and St. Clement may have taken the attributes of Vulcan, simply because they were not appropriated by any other saint.

Church processions revived.

Among the church processions revived by queen Mary, that of St. Clement's church, in honor of this saint, was by far the most splendid of any in London. The procession to St. Paul's, in 1557, "was made very pompous, with four score banners and streamers, and the waits of the city playing, and three score priests and clerks in copes. And divers of the Inne of Court were there, who went next the priests."*

St. Catherine.

The *day of St. Catherine*,† (November 25), was anciently observed by young women, who assembled to make merry, according to a custom which they called *Catherining*, and which probably originated in the religious processions, suppressed by the proclamation of the 33rd of Henry the Eighth. Like the processions of St. Clement, they were revived to endure a brief existence in the reign of queen Mary, and Strype has described several gorgeous pageants, among which is the procession of 1553, which was celebrated with five hundred great lights around St. Paul's steeple.‡

According to Andreas a Santa Theresa, the Carmelite author of a strange oration pronounced at Munich, in 1664, at the festival in honor of St. Joseph of Nazareth, philosophers pay their devotions to this saint. She was also the patroness of spinsters. The Normans apply a very old saying to a maid, who does not marry, importing that she will remain to attire St. Catherine:—"Elle restera pour coiffer Sainte Katherine."

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* Strype, Eccles. Mem., Vol. III., ch. 49, p. 377. Strutt, Warton, Vol. III., p. 322.

† See Gloss. of dates, *Sanctæ Catherinæ, vel Katerinæ Virginis Festum.*

‡ Eccles. Mem., Vol. III., ch. 39, p. 309—ch. 49, p. 377—ch. 5, p. 51, 57.

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November 30 is devoted to *St. Andrew*,* the patron saint of Scotland, whose sons substantially, or at least dietically, differing from the Irish and Welsh, who, on the festivals of their respective patron saints, wear emblems derived from the vegetable kingdom, bear singed sheeps' heads in their annual procession in honor of the day. For this remarkable custom there seems to exist no other reason than the national partiality to this exquisite dainty as an article of food; and, in proof, we are informed by Sir John Sinclair, that in the summer season, many opulent citizens of Edinburgh resort to Dudington, a village in the vicinity, to feast upon this ancient Scottish dish, for which the place has long been celebrated. The use of singed sheeps' heads, boiled or baked, so common at Dudington, is supposed to have arisen from the practice of slaughtering the sheep, fed on the neighbouring hills, for the market, removing the carcasses to town, and burning the head and offals to be consumed on the spot.†

St. Andrew.

Singed sheeps' heads.

Persius, at least in Dryden's translation, mentions a similar delicacy, though without approbation, for he looks upon it as the miser's fare:—

> "——— Shall I be fed
> With sodden nettles and a sing'd sow's head?
> 'Tis holy day, provide me better cheer;
> 'Tis holy day, and shall be round the year."‡

St. Andrew's day is chiefly noted as indicating the first Sunday of Advent, and is marked in the Runic kalendar with the cross, called by heralds a saltier, in the form of the letter X; and as he is always depicted with a cross of this description, his name has been communicated to the saltier, "*Croix de St. André*," which is otherwise supposed

The saltier not St. Andrew's cross.

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* See Gloss. of dates, Arts. *Andermesse; St. Andrew's Day; Androismesse; Andyrs Day; Sancti Andreæ Festum.*

† Statist. Account of Scotl., Vol. XXIII., p. 359. Dr. Forster, Peren. Calend., p. 674.

‡ Pers. Sat. VI., ad fin.

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to represent a scaling ladder. That he is not fairly entitled to this coat-armour, ecclesiastical historians prove by appealing to the crose itself on which he suffered, which St. Stephen of Burgundy gave to the convent of St. Victor, near Marseilles, and which, like the common cross, is rectangular. The cause of the error is thus explained; when the apostle suffered, the cross, instead of being fixed upright, rested on its foot and arm, and in this posture he was fastened to it; his hands to one arm and the head, his feet to the other arm and the foot, and his head in the air.* After all, St. John Chrysostom, in his sermon on the festival of St. Andrew, says that the saint was crucified on an olive tree,† in consequence of which olive oil has long possessed a sacred repute among the vulgar.

Olive oil sacred.

Amatory divinations

From the *Regnum Papisticum* of Naogeorgus, translated by Barnabe Googe, in 1570, it appears that the peasant girls in ancient times, attempted to divine the name of their future husbands, by forcing the growth of onions in the chimney corner, and they ascertained the temper of the future spouse from the straightness or crookedness of a stick, drawn from a wood stack. Amatory divinations, it will be seen, were by no means peculiar in England to the season of Advent. In Germany, it is commonly believed that on St. Andrew's night and the nights of St. Thomas, Christmas, and New Year, a girl has the power of inviting and seeing her future lover. A table is to be laid for two persons, taking care, however, that there are no forks on it. Whatever the lover leaves behind him at his departure must be carefully preserved; he then returns to her who has it, and loves her passionately. It must, however, be carefully kept from his sight, because he would otherwise remember the torture of superhuman power, which he that night endured, and this would lead to fatal consequences. A fair maiden, in Austria, once sought at midnight, after

German legend of St. Andrew's night.

* Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, Vol. I., p. 140.

† Serm. 133. Ser. Collier, Dict. Art. *St. Andrew.*

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performing the necessary ceremonies, to obtain a sight of her future lover; whereupon a shoemaker appeared, having a dagger in his hand, which he threw at her, and then disappeared. She picked up the dagger and concealed it in a trunk. It was not long afterwards before the shoemaker visited, courted, and married her. Some years after their marriage, she chanced to go one Sunday, about the hour of vespers, to the trunk, in search of something which she required for her work on the following day. As she opened her trunk, her husband came to her, and would insist on looking into it; she kept him off, until at last he pushed her away with great violence, looked into her trunk, and there saw his dagger. He immediately seized it, and demanded of her how she had obtained it, because he had lost it at a very particular time. In her fear and alarm, she had not the power to invent any excuse, so declared the truth, that it was the same dagger which he had left behind him on the night when she had obliged him to appear to her. Her husband hereupon grew enraged, and said with a terrible oath, —' 'Twas you then that caused me that night of dreadful misery!' and with that he thrust the dagger into her heart.

This popular tradition of Germany is translated by Mr. Thoms,* from Grimm's "Deutsche Sagen." In England, superstitious rites of this nature, were practised on other festival nights, and among the rest, on the vigil of St. Mark, but it was believed that during the whole term of Advent, fairies, witches, goblins, and malevolent spirits possessed their most formidable powers of annoying good christians, until, we shall find, they were temporarily quelled by the "hallowed and gracious time" of the eve of Christmas. In Lithuania, even to this day, an opinion prevails among persons of the middling classes, that dreams on the night before St. Andrew's day, which is properly called the eve of St. Andrew, are particularly prophetic.

* Lays and Legends of Germany, p. 39.

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BOOK II.

St. Andrew. Charms and incantations.

In Normandy these superstitions are confined to the eight days before Christmas, which are named, *Les Avents de Noel.* The people in some of the cantons place bundles of hay under the fruit trees, and children, not twelve years of age, are sent with torches to set fire to the hay, which they perform, flourishing their torches among the branches, and continually crying out:—

" Taupes, cherilles et mulots,
Sortez, sortez de mon clos,
Ou je vous brule la barbe et les os:
Arbres, arbrisseaux,
Donnez-moi des pommes à miriot."

Of this exorcism, or charm, a translation has been made: —" Mice, caterpillars, and moles, get out, get out of my field: I will burn your beard and your bones: trees and shrubs, give me three bushels of apples." M. Cochin remarks that the fire is effective against the caterpillars, but as to mice and moles, he has discovered no convincing proof of the power of the young exorcists.* Their incantation is not much unlike a magical charm of the ancients, against the cantharides, or insects of the beetle kind, by which they thought their corn was destroyed:—

Φεύγετε κανθαρίδες, λύκος ἄγριος ὄμμι διώκει.

Fly, beetles, the ravenous wolf pursues you.

Our old authors mention a custom, that held on the Thursday three weeks before the Nativity, when boys and girls went about in troops, crying, " Advent! Advent!" and wishing a happy new year to the neighbours, who requited their benediction with money and fruit. The new year, at this period, began with the festival of the Nativity, which was the termination of Advent.

St. Nicholas.

The *festival of St. Nicholas*† is observed on the 6th of December, and is marked by several peculiarities which

* Time's Telescope for 1828.

† See Gloss. of Dates, *Sancti Nicholai Festa.*

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St. Nicholas.

connect the saint with the marine deities of Scandinavia, Greece, and Rome. He is said by Moreri to have been bishop of Myra, in the 4th century, and he was accounted a saint of the highest virtue, even in his earliest infancy. This saint has ever been considered the patron of scholars and of youth, of which the reason has been assigned by the Rev. W. Cole, from a Life of St. Nicholas, 3rd Edition, 4to., 1645. "An Asiatic gentleman, sending his two sons to Athens for education, ordered them to wait on the bishop for his benediction. On arriving at Myra with their baggage, they took up their lodgings at an inn, proposing to defer their visit till the morrow; but, in the mean time, the innkeeper, to secure their effects to himself, killed the young gentlemen, cut them into pieces, salted them, and intended to sell them for pickled pork. St. Nicholas being favoured with a sight of these proceedings in a vision, went to the inn, and reproached the landlord with the crime, who, immediately confessing it, entreated the saint to pray to heaven for his pardon. The bishop, moved by his confession and contrition, besought forgiveness for him, and supplicated restoration of life to the children. Scarcely had he finished, when the pieces reunited, and the resuscitated youths threw themselves from the brine tub at the feet of the bishop: he raised them up, blessed them, and sent them to Athens, with great joy, to prosecute their studies."*

Patron of sailors.

In old representations, as in that of the Salisbury Missal of 1540, fo. xxvii,† the bishop is always depicted along with the children rising from the tub. The common people, however, in Catholic countries, generally misunderstood these figures, and regard the boys in the tub as sailors in a boat, a mistake which derives apparent corroboration from the belief that St. Nicholas is the patron of mariners; thus, in the Norman-French life of the saint, he is distinctly

* Hone, Anc. Myst., p. 193.

† Engraved in Hone's Every Day Book, Vol. I.

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BOOK II.

St. Nicholas.

said to afford his aid to travellers by sea as well as by land, who require his assistance:—

" Seynz vos ke alez par mer,
De cet barun oiez parler,
Ke tant est par tut socurable,
E ke en mer est tant aidable."

And, in a storm described in this legend or romance, the sailors, " miserable and weary, often cry out, often they invoke St. Nicholas, saying, Help us, O lord St. Nicholas, if thou beest such as men say." At length the saint appeared, and stood close to them in the vessel:—

" Souent se claiment cheitiff e las.
Souent dient sein Nicholas.
Sucurez nus sein Nicholas sire.
Si tel es cum oum dire.
A taunt uns houme lur aparutt
Ke en la nef iuste eus se estutt."*

Nick, a form of Odin.

According to the Scandinavian mythology, the supreme god Odin assumes the name of Nick, Neck, Nikkar, Nikar, or Hnikar, when he acts as the evil or destructive principle. In the character of Nikur, or Hnikudur, a Protean water sprite;† he inhabits the lakes and rivers of Scandinavia, where he raises sudden storms and tempests, and leads mankind into destruction. Nick, or Nickar, being an object of dread to the Scandinavians, propitiatory worship was offered to him, and hence it has been imagined that the Scandinavian spirit of the waters, became in the middle ages St. Nicholas, the patron of sailors, who invoke his aid in storms and tempests.‡ This supposition, which will be advanced to a degree of probability almost amounting to certainty, receives countenance from the great devotion still felt by Gothic nations towards St. Nicholas, to

* Apud Hickes, Thesaur., Tom. I., p. 146 and 149.

† " Hnikari edur Nikar: Nikur edur Hnikudur."—*Edda Islandorum, Dæmesaga* 3. " Hnikudur," says Snorro, " som er selsom *varius, inconstans.*"

‡ Quarterly Rev., Vol. XXII., p. 260, 261.

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whom many churches on the sea shore are dedicated. The church of St. Nicholas, in this situation at Liverpool, was consecrated in 1361, and, says Mr. Baines, "in the vicinity there formerly stood a statue of St. Nicholas, and when the faith in the intercession of saints was more operative than at present, the mariners were wont to present a peace offering for a prosperous voyage on their going out to sea, and a wave-offering on their return; but the saint, having lost his votaries, has long since disappeared."*

St. Nicholas.

Votive offerings for prosperous voyages,

To these churches, in many countries, the seamen who have suffered shipwreck resort to return thanks for their preservation, and to lay some gift upon the altar, or to hang up votive tablets representing the danger from which they have escaped, in gratitude to the saint for the protection granted to them, and in fulfilment of the vows made to him in the midst of the storm. Hence Leucius, in the Absurda of Erasmus, having escaped shipwreck, says that he is proceeding forthwith to the church, in order to dedicate a piece of an old sail cloth to St. Nicholas.† The custom of suspending tablets is probably taken immediately from the Romans, who had it with other superstitions from the Greeks; for we are told that Bion, the philosopher, was shown several of these votive pictures suspended in a temple of Neptune near the sea shore. Cicero briefly notices this custom,‡ and Horace describes it:—

and escape from shipwreck.

——"Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo."§

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* Hist. Lanc., Vol. IV., p. 63.

† Quo eam, rogas? in templum, veli partem dicaturus divo Nicolao.

‡ "Hæc enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat."—*Epist. ad Attic*, Lib. IV.

§ Carm., Od. I., 5.—The old scholiast states, that "Vidimus autem quoddam quosdam hodie quoque in tabulis pingere suos casus, quos in mari passi sunt, atque in fanis marinorum deorum ponere. Sunt autem qui vestem quoque ibi suspendunt diis eam consecrantes."—*Apud M. Gesner*,

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St. Nicholas.

" My fate the pictur'd wreck displays;
The dripping garments that remain
In mighty Neptune's sacred fane,
Record my glad escape, my grateful praise."
Boscawen.

The modern mariners of Greece substitute St. Nicholas for Neptune; and an interesting historical anecdote is connected with the subject. The name of Kanaris, the Greek naval hero, was almost unknown among his fellow-countrymen, until he signalized himself in January, 1828, by setting fire to the Turkish admiral's ship, which had a crew of 2200 men on board at the time, in the roads of Chios. His own men, upon descrying the great Turkish fleet in that road-sted, attempted to compel him to sheer off. " If ye have coward souls," exclaimed their gallant commander, " throw yourselves into the sea, and shelter yourselves behind yon rocks. I shall remain on board and die without you." These words recalled their sinking courage, and they swore to live or die with him. It happened to be the month of Ramazan, when the faithful, after keeping their mouths closed from sun-rise to sun-set, retaliate for the penance by passing the night in all kinds of merriment and debauchery. The night in question had, therefore, collected a host of Turkish officers of considerable rank on board the admiral's ship, as visiters. It was pitch dark when Kanaris made his fire-ship fast to the vessel, set fire to her, and jumped into his launch; the flames spread rapidly, and Kanaris, who was at no great distance from the enemy, called out to them, " Hollo there! how do you relish the Ramazan illumination?" Then laying his best

Anecdote of Kanaris

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in locum. They also carried the pictured story of their misfortune round their necks, and begged charity in the streets:—

"—— Cæteri tabulam suam
Portant rogantes victum."

Phædr. Lib. IV., Fab. 21.

During the last war, such a practice, with respect to other disasters at sea, was by no means uncommon in England.

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hands to the oar, he beheld the Turkish admiral's ship, with the Kapudan Pasha and every soul on board, blown into the air. Kanaris, on the other hand, had a barrel of gunpowder as his messmate, as a resource for ridding himself of life, rather than fall into his adversaries clutches in the event of their giving him chase; but they were in no mood for the experiment, and he was consequently enabled to gain the harbour of Ipsara the next morning, where his fellow-countrymen welcomed him with loud acclaims and discharges of musquetry and cannon. As soon as he got on shore, he made his way to St. Nicholas's church, where he returned the saint fervent thanksgivings for the succour he had vouchsafed him, and presented a votive offering of two wax tapers at his shrine.*

St. Nicholas.

It was also customary among the Romans to consecrate little marble ships to *Jupiter Redux*, in gratitude for their safe return from sea. The convertibility of the characters of heathen deities is not, since the learned labors of Bryant and Faber, a point to be demonstrated; the Jupiter Redux is here no other than Neptune. On the Cœlian hill, where anciently stood the temple of Jupiter Redux, our lady of the ship, *Santa Maria della Navicella*, now receives the homage of her naval votaries. Before her chapel, Pope Leo the Tenth, moved either by Christian piety or classical enthusiasm, erected a marble ship, to record the dangers which he had escaped in a storm at sea. Fragments of ancient votive ships have often been discovered in the soil of this spot; but the modern Italian traveller, on his return, presents to *S. Rocco*, or *S. Antonio Abbate*, or to some favorite Madonna, the gaudy representation of his own perils and adventures.†

Ships consecrated to Jupiter Redux.

A writer in the Encyclopœdia Americana (*Art.* Navigation) has the following appropriate observations on this

* United Service Journal, Feb., 1836.

† Kaleidoscope, Vol. III., p. 362. Liverpool, 1823, 4to.

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custom:—"There is much that is beautiful in these simple acts of piety; but, except in some Catholic countries of the Mediterranean, where pictures of rescue and garments are still hung before the shrine of an invoked intercessor, and where processions are still made, after escape from shipwreck, none of those touching customs now remain. What can be more beautiful than the grateful sense of divine interference with which Columbus and his followers hasten to fulfil their vows after their safe arrival from Palos? Such piety, if it availed not to avert present danger, at least served to inspire confidence to meet it; and, when past, the gratitude which it occasioned must have tended at once to refine the sentiments and ennoble the heart."*

St. Nicholas.

The Anactes.

Reverting to the north,—the correspondence of the offices of St. Nicholas and the Nick-ar or Neck-ar of Scandinavia, with those ascribed to the marine deities of Greece and Rome, is the consequence of their common origin in the mysteries of the Cabiri, or the great gods of Phœnicia, Samothrace, Egypt, Troas, Greece, Italy, and Crete. Of these were Castor and Pollux, whom both Plutarch and Pausanias style *Anactes*, kings or chiefs. "As for the word *Anak*," says Mr. Faber, "it is evidently not a Grecian, but a Phœnician term, and seems to be compounded of Ain-ac, *the fountains of the ocean*, as the similar appellation of *Titan* is of Tit-ain, the fountains of the deluge."† According to Hyginus, the privilege of preserving mariners from storms at sea, was conferred upon these Anactes by Neptune,‡ who was also one of the Cabiric deities, and whose festivals, the *Neptunalia*, were celebrated on the 5th, as that of St. Nicholas was on the 6th of December. The influence of the Anactes over the tempestuous ocean is beautifully described by Homer in his hymn to the Dioscuri, and by Horace:—

Castor and Pollux.

Neptunalia.

* The Sea-Service, p. 73. Lond., 12mo., 1834.

† Faber, Diss. on Cabiri, Vol. II., p. 209.

‡ Anak is supposed to be Neptune by Mr. Faber, p. 210.

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"Dicam et Alcidem, puerosque Ledæ
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit,
Defluit saxis agitatus humor,
Concidunt venti; fugiuntque nubes;
Et minax (sic Di voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit."*

Thus ably translated, or rather paraphrased, by Dr. Francis:—

"Alcides' labors, and fair Leda's twins,
Famed for the rapid race, for wrestling famed,
Shall grace the song; soon as whose star benign
Through the fierce tempest shines serene,
Swift from the rocks down foams the broken surge,
Hush'd fall the winds, the driving clouds disperse,
And all the threatening waves, so will the Gods,
Smooth sink upon the peaceful deep."

There is also a circumstance too remarkable to be omitted here, that the Naharvali, a people of ancient Germany, worshipped gods, whose names, translated into the Roman language, were Castor and Pollux.† *Naharvali.*

A curious monument, dug up at Este, represents a vow performed to these deities by Argenidas. They are carved standing upon a pedestal, while Argenidas is offering to them two pateræ upon an altar, the lower part of which exhibits a hog in bass-relief. In the back ground is a dismasted vessel floating upon the waves; and upon the land are four naked figures, which appear to have just emerged from the water. Behind them is an Anakeion, or temple of the Anactes, as we may conclude from the Greek letters KEION yet remaining; and over the head of Argenidas is a serpent. The features of the deities and their votary are entirely obliterated by the injuries of time.‡

The traditions and fables, borne by the Cabirian priests,

* Od. I., 12, 25.

† Tacit. de Morib. Germ., cap. 43.

‡ Montfaucon, Antiquit. in Supplem., p. 103. Faber.

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St. Nicholas.

wherever they wandered over the earth, have in many cases undergone more violent mutations than the corruption of the appellation Anak into Nick or Neck; and the Scandinavians, in assigning to this deity or sprite an influence over the waters of the ocean, preserved to him in the north the attributes which he enjoyed in the east; nor is it singular to find that he gives denomination to the river Neckar, in Suabia, and to several towns and villages in the west of Germany. As the argonautic *Anak*, a chief, bore a secondary rank among the mythological divinities, being of the class of heroes, we find the Scandinavian Neck or Nick correspondently designated *Hold Nick-ar*. This term was imported by the Danish vikingr, kings of the sea, or pirates, when they effected a settlement in this country. The subjugated Saxons applied the title *hold*, which was in one sense equivalent to their own hæleð, to any Danish chieftain; but *Hold Neck-ar* or *Hold Nikke*, in time degenerated into the ludicrous expression, *Old Nick*. Whether St. Nicholas ever existed or not, the resemblance in the sound of his name to that of Nikke is sufficient to account for his reception among the mariners of the middle ages as their tutelary saint, and for the substitution of his name in the place of Neptune by the seamen of modern Greece. In short, we seem to be warranted in concluding, that the festival of St. Nicholas is a perpetuation of the Neptunalia, and affords another, and not the least remarkable instance of the adaptation of ethnical superstitions to the prejudices of early Christians.

Old Nick.

The horse, a water-sprite, and solar emblem.

In the mythology of Scandinavia, which is the foundation of all our popular creeds, Nickar is represented as "a dangerous water-sprite, who appears as a horse, a mermaid, or a beautiful girl, to entice people to their destruction. He is supposed by some, however, not to do it out of ill will, but in order to procure companions in the spirits of those who are drowned."* The mermaid and girl seem to

* Leigh Hunt, on Fairies, London Journ., Vol. I., p. 209.

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be modern embellishments, but the horse, which was one of the emblems of the sun, bore a part equally conspicuous in the mythological systems of the north and the east. From the sacred *Hipha*, the designation of an emblem of the sun, the Greeks formed their *Hippa*, [a mare,] who, as well as Isis, was the nurse of Bacchus. Mercury is sometimes denominated Hipparcheus, and under the appellation of Odin, the northern nations feigned him to possess a wonderful horse, Sleipner, produced with eight legs,* the number of the Cabiric deities, when the gods were endangered by the giants, the Titans of the eastern system.† Among the transformations of the Indian Devi, or *Nature*, she appeared as Prabha, or *Light*, and assuming the shape of Aswini, a *Mare*, which, says the *Nasatya Sanhita*, is the first of the lunar mansions, she was approached by the sun in the form of a horse. She gave birth to twins, the Castor and Pollux of India, who, when represented as an individual, seem to be *Esculapius*, or Aswiculapa, the chief of the race of Aswi;‡ and Esculapius, as well as Apollo, was a form of the sun. In like manner Adonis is said to have embraced Dia, (the Devi of India,) in the form of a horse.§ It should also be noticed that Vishnou, the sun, was feigned to assume the form of this animal.

The Danish peasantry, in the time of Olaus Wormius, describes the Nökke (Nikke) as a monster with a human head, dwelling both in fresh and salt water. Where any one was drowned, they said *Nökken tag ham bort;* the Nökke took him away.‖ The Icelandic Neck, kelpie, or water spirit, is called Nickur, and Hnikar, one of the names of Odin in the Edda. He always appears in the

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* Edda Islandorum, Dæmesaga 14, 35 and 36.

† See the 7th chapter of Faber's Dissert. on Cabiri, Vol. II.

‡ Capt. Wilford, Asiat. Res., Vol. III., p. 168.

§ Ενιατος ιππια λεκτρα φερει περραιβιδι Διγ.—*Nonni Dionys.*, Lib. VII., p. 134. *Dia* is a mere inflection of *Devi*.—*Faber*, Vol. II., p. 297.

‖ Keightley, Fairy Mythology, Vol. I., p. 235 note.

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form of a fine horse, on the sea shore. If any one is so foolish as to mount him, he gallops off, and plunges into the sea with his burden.* O'Donoghue, the water sprite, who rides on horseback upon the lake of Killarney, appears to be no other than Odon Nökke Hybernicised. He still exists, though Stagnelii, a Swedish poet, quoted by Mr. Keightley, states that:—

O'Donoghue of Ireland, the northern Neck.

" Ei Necken mer i flodens vaagor quäder,
Och ingen Hafsfru bleker sina kläder
Paa böljans rygg i milda solars glans."

" The Neck no more upon the river sings,
And no mermaid to bleach her linen flings
Upon the waves in the mild solar ray."

St. Nicholas patron of spinsters.

Among the Normans of the twelfth century, St. Nicholas was regarded as the peculiar patron of spinsters, and the maidens of Bayeux have yet a proverbial distich, by which they invoke him to procure them a speedy marriage:—

" Patron des filles, Saint Nicolas
Mariez nous, ne tardez pas."†

The same opinion of his capability in this way, prevailed in England in the fifteenth century, and we learn from a curious passage in bishop Fisher's Sermon on the MONTHS MINDE of Margaret, countess of Richmond, that she " praied to S. Nicholas, the patron and helper of all true maydens," when she was nine years old, about the choice of a husband; and that the saint appeared in a vision, and announced the earl of Richmond.‡

Origin of the notion.

This notion originated in a legend, quoted by Hospinian, who remarks, that it was common for parents, on the eve of St. Nicholas, to convey secretly presents to their children, who were taught to believe that they owed them to the

* Ibid, Vol. I., 234.
† M. Pluquet, Contes Populaires, &c. Rouen, 8vo., 1834.
‡ Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. III., p. 323 note.

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kindness of St. Nicholas and his train. This custom, he says, is owing to the legend of that saint's having given portions to three daughters of a poor citizen, whose necessities had driven him to an intention of prostituting them; which the saint prevented, by privately throwing, at night, a purse through the father's bed-chamber window, to enable him to apportion them honestly. *St. Nicholas.*

In a Norman-French life of St. Nicholas, it would seem that the father, who could contemplate the prostitution of his children, was enriched by the unscrupulous, but benevolent saint:—

> " Sein Nicholas sen ua a taunt,
> Li houmez remyst leez e joyaunt,
> Ke turne fu de pouertie
> E ses files de mauuestie."*

Naogeorgus has noticed both the legend and the custom:—

> " Saint Nicholas monie vsde to give to maydens secretlie,
> Who that be still may vse his wonted liberalitie:
> The mother all their children on the Eeve do cause to fast,
> And when they euerie one at night in senseless sleepe are cast,
> Both apples, nuts, and payres they bring, and other thinges beside,
> As cappes, and shoes, and petticoates, with kirtles they hide,
> And in the morning found, they say, 'St. Nicholas this brought,' &c."

St. Nicholas, for some reason not very obvious, was also the patron of the parish clerks of London, who were incorporated into a guild about 1240, by Henry the Third. Uniting the performance of *Mysteries*, or sacred plays, with their proper avocations, they were formerly of higher importance than they are at present; and the parish of Clerkenwell, a name compounded of the old English plural of *clerk* and *well* is so called, history informs us, from the spring there situated, round which the parish clerks of London, in olden time, enacted their mysteries. *Mysteries performed at Clerkenwell.*

* Vita S. Nicolai, apud Hickes, Thesaur., Tom. I., p. 154.

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St. Nicholas. Boy Bishop.

The election and investment of the *Boy Bishop*, on St. Nicholas Day, and also on the Holy Innocents, or Childermas, certainly proceeded from the festival of subdeacons.* "It does not appear," says Strutt, speaking of the former, "at what period this idle ceremony was first established, but probably it was ancient, at least we can trace it back to the fourteenth century [thirteenth century]. In all the collegiate churches, it was customary for one of the children of the choir, completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crosier, to bear the title and state of a bishop. He exacted a ceremonial obedience from his fellows, who, dressed like priests, took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices which might have been celebrated by a bishop and his prebendaries: Warton, and the author of the MS. which he has followed, add, 'the mass excepted;' but the proclamation of Henry VIII.† for the abolition of this custom, proves they did 'singe masse.'"‡ As St. Nicholas was the patron of scholars, it was customary in many places for the scholars on the feast day of this saint to elect one of their number to play the boy-bishop, with two others for his deacons. He was escorted in his mitre by a solemn procession of the other boys to church, where he presided at the worship, and afterwards he and his deacons went about singing from door to door, and collecting money; not begging, but demanding it as a subsidy. In 1274 the council of Nice prohibited this mock election, though so late as the time of Hospinian, who wrote in the seventeenth century, it was customary at schools, dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great, who was a patron of scholars, for one of the boys to be his representative on the occasion, and to act as pope,

Mock pope and cardinals.

* Gloss. of Dates, *Festum Hypodiaconorum*; it is also called *Festum Fatuorum*; *Festum Stultorum*; *Fête des Fous*; *Festival of Fools*; *Libertas Decembrica*, &c.

† Vide suprà, *St. Clement's Day*, p. 61.

‡ Glig-Gamena Angel-Theod, or Sports and Pastimes, B. IV., ch. 3 sect. 10.

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with some of his companions as cardinals. At the cathedral of Salisbury, it appears that the boy-bishop held a sort of visitation, and maintained a corresponding state and prerogative; and he is supposed to have had power to dispose of prebends that fell vacant during his episcopacy, which continued from the feast of St. Nicholas to the eve of the Innocents, December 27. If he died within this space, he was to be buried like other bishops, in his episcopal ornaments; his obsequies were solemnized with much pomp, and a monument was erected to his memory, with his episcopal effigy. More than a century and a half ago, a boy-bishop's monument in stone was discovered in Salisbury cathedral. In the statutes of this cathedral, on the state of the choristers, it is ordered that the boy-bishop shall not make any visit, but remain with his companions in the common-house, unless he be invited, as a chorister, to the canon's house for the sake of enjoyment [solatii]. His talents as a singer seem to have been of consequence: in the church of York no chorister was to be elected boy-bishop, who had not a clear and unbroken, or youthful voice. Not only did this ceremony exist in the cathedrals, but in almost every parish church. On December 7, 1229, the morrow of St. Nicholas, the boy-bishop in the chapel at Heton, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, said vespers before Edward the First, then on his way to Scotland, who gave a considerable present, to him and the boys that sang with him. Another juvenile bishop, in the reign of Edward the Third, received a present of 19s. 6d. for singing before the king in his private chamber on Innocents' Day, December 28. A statute of St. Mary Overy, a collegiate church, dated 1337, restrains the boy-bishop from going in procession beyond the limits of his own parish. In the will of Thomas Rotheram, archbishop of York, dated in 1481, is a bequest to the college of that place, of a mitre of cloth of gold with two silver enamelled "knoppes," to be worn by the "*Barnes Bishop*."* Mr. Baker remarks

St. Nicholas.

Bequest of a mitre for the boy bishop.

* "Item unam mitram de clothe of goold, habentem 2 knoppes arg.

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St. Nicholas.

upon the legacies in this will, that, "Among the rest occurs a myter for the barne-bishop, of cloth of gold, with two knops of silver gilt and enamyled, which shews the great concern they had for that little bishop, when one was to be appointed only out of six choristers, and in a country village. I had thought that custome had been confin'd to cathedral churches, and that a mock bishop was only to appear where there was a true one; but it seems that piece of superstition extended further."* Warton quotes the fragment of a *Computus* of Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, which is at variance with the assertion made by himself and Strutt, that the boy-bishop did not perform mass; it is a disbursement in 1327, for feasting the boy-bishop, who celebrated mass on St. Nicholas day.† Dr. Colet, dean of St. Pauls, countenanced the idle farce, and in the statutes of the school, founded by him at St. Paul's in 1512, he expressly ordains that his scholars "shall, every Childermas Day, come to Paules churche and heer the chylde-bysshop's sermon, and after be at hygh-masse, and each of them offer a penny to the childe-bysshop, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole."‡ As patron of scholars, St. Nicholas has a double feast at Eton college, where in catholic times, the scholars to avoid interfering, as it would seem, with the boy-bishop on St. Nicholas's day, elected their boy-bishop on St. Hugh's day, in November.§

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enameld, dat. ad occupand. per Barnes Bishop."—*Lib. Nig. Scacc.*, p. 674. Ed. Hearne. This is, perhaps, the same mitre which is named in the inventory of jewels and valuables belonging to the cathedral of York:—"Item una Mitra parva cum *Petris* pro Episcopo Puerorum."—*Dugd. Monast. Anglic.*, Tom. III., p. 169, col. 2. The tarnished silver knobs seem to have been mistaken for stones.

* Ibid., p. 686.

† Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. II., p. 375 note.

‡ Ibid., Vol. I., p. 248. Vol. III., p. 390. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 362.

§ It was not always so, for by the statutes of Eton, in 1441, it was permitted that all the holy offices, except mass, should be celebrated on the feast of St. Nicholas, but by no means on that of the Innocents, [doubtless for the reason assigned in the text,] by the boy-bishop, chosen annually for this purpose; and the same clause is in the statutes of King's College, Cam-

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Brande, indeed, is of opinion, that the anniversary *Montem* at Eton is merely a corruption of the boy-bishop and his companions; the scholars being prevented by the edict of Henry the Eighth, from continuing that ceremony, gave a new face to their festivity, and began their pastime at soldiers, and electing a captain. Even within the memory of persons living in 1777, when Brande wrote, the *Montem* was kept a little before Christmas, although now held on Whit-Tuesday. The pageantry of the boy-bishop was revived, with other prohibited ceremonies, by Queen Mary, and in 1554 an edict was issued by the bishop of London to all the clergy of his diocese, to have a boy-bishop in procession.* Warton mentions a poem by Hugh Rhodes at that period, entitled, "The Song of the Chyld-Bysshop, as it was songe before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of St. James in the Feeldes on Saynt Nicholas day and Innocents day this yeare now present [1555] by the Chylde Bysshop of Paules Churche with his company."† Strype says, that in 1556, "On S. Nicholas Even, Saint Nicholas, that is, a boy habited like a bishop, *in pontificalibus*, went abroad in most parts of London singing after the old fashion, and was received with many ignorant but well disposed people into their houses; and had as much good cheer as ever was wont to be had before."‡ After the queen's death the idle ceremony was totally discontinued. Mr. Brayley reasonably conjectures as to the "chylde byshop's sermons," that "Probably these orations, though affectedly childish, were composed by the more aged members of the church."§

St. Nicholas. Eton Montem.

St. Tibba's Day, December 14, was anciently celebrated *St. Tibba*

bridge, both being adopted from those of Winchester.—*Warton*, ut suprà, Vol. II., p. 389.

* Strype's Eccl. Mem., Vol. III., ch. 25, p. 202.

† Ut suprà, Vol. III., p. 321.

‡ Ut suprà, Vol. III., ch. 39, p. 310.

§ Lond. and Middles., Vol. II., p. 229.

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in Rutlandshire by fowlers and falconers, who regarded the saint as their peculiar patronness. Camden mentions the town of Rihall as particularly addicted to this superstitious observance,* and the passage, which is strongly expressed, was ordered to be expunged from his *Britannia,* by the *Index Expurgatorius,* printed at Madrid in 1612, by Louis Sanchez.

St. Tibba.

St. Ignace. *St. Ignace's Day,* December 17. At Sandwick, in the Orkneys, it is usual, by a very ancient custom, for every family to kill a sow, whence this day is called *Sow Day.* As to the custom, it has probably some reference to the heathen worship of the sun, to which among the northern nations, the male of this animal was sacred.

Sow Day.

St. Thomas On *St. Thomas's Day,*† December 21, the musical festivities of Christmas usually begin in most Christian countries, especially that sort of nocturnal music commonly called *waits,* and corruptly *wakes,*‡ which continue in many parts of England till Christmas. The pious songs at this period, usually termed *Christmas Carols,* are of very high antiquity. Bishop Taylor remarks that the "Gloria in excelsis," sung by the angels to the shepherds at the Nativity, was the earliest. Within the last century, they have become much less common in England; but formerly, on Christmas Day they took place of psalms in all the churches, especially in the afternoon service, the whole congregation joining; and, at the end, it was usual for the clerk to de-

Waite.

Carols.

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* "Rihall, ubi cum majores nostros ita fascinasset superstitio, ut Deorum multitudine Deum verum propemodum sustulisset, Tibba minorum gentium Diva, quasi Diana ab aucupibus utique rei accipitrariæ præses, colebatur."—*Britan.,* 8vo., Lond. Edit. 1590, p. 419.

† *St. Thomas Day of Ynde; Mumping Day.*

‡ Wakes are vigils. Waits were originally watchmen, and afterwards minstrels at the king's court. The name seems to be taken from the old French *guetter,* [to watch]. In the old play, "The Historie of Promos and Cassandra," 1578, the carpenter is instructed to "erect a stage, that the wayghtes in sight may stand."—*Strutt, Sports and Pastimes,* Introd. sect. xxiii.

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clare in a loud voice his wishes for a merry Christmas and a happy new year.* Mr. Hone asserts, that in Scotland, where no church feasts have been kept since the days of John Knox, the custom of carolling is unknown; but in this he is not altogether accurate. The "Caralles," it is true, were prohibited by act of parliament, as well as the *Gysars*, a term applied to those who disguised themselves about this period; but, until the present day, in Perthshire the last night of the year is called *Carol Ewyn*, because young people go from door to door singing carols, in return for which they receive small cakes baked for the occasion.

St. Thomas

Carol Ewyn.

In Wales the custom is still retained to a greater extent than in England; and, at a former period, the Welsh had carols adapted to most of the ecclesiastical festivals, and the four seasons of the year; but they are now limited to that of Christmas. On the continent the custom is almost universal.

At the village of Thornton, near Sherbourne, in Dorsetshire, a custom obtains among the tenants of the manor, who deposit five shillings in a hole in a certain tombstone in the churchyard, which precludes the lord of the manor from taking the tithe of hay during the year. This must invariably be done before 12 o'clock on this day, or the privilege is void.

A custom, called *Going a Gooding*, formerly prevailed in England on this day; women begged money, and in return, presented sprigs of palm and bunches of primroses.† In Herefordshire they *go a mumping*, or begging in a similar manner.

Gooding.

Mumping.

The *Eve* or *Vigil of the Nativity*, December 24, which closed the old year, was long marked by a superstition, of which the memory, preserved by the favorite dramatist of England, will live when all the other popular rites, cere-

Christmas.

* Gilbert's Ancient Christmas Carols, with their Tunes.

† Gent. Mag., April, 1794.

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BOOK II.

monies, and opinions of this period shall be buried in oblivion. "Shakspeare," Mr. Hunt beautifully remarks,* "has touched upon Christmas Eve, with a reverential tenderness, *sweet as if he had spoken it hushingly*:"—

Christmas.

Cock Crow

> "Some say, that ever 'gainst that season comes
> Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
> The bird of dawning singeth all night long:
> And then, they say, no sprite dares stir abroad;
> The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike,
> No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm;
> So hallowed and so gracious is the time."

Prudentius, early in the fourth century, noticed the terror with which the voice of the cock inspired the wandering spirits of the night with terror:—

> "Ferunt vagantes daemonas
> Laetas tenebris noctium
> Gallo canente, exterritos,
> Sparsim timere et credere."†

It has been supposed that the song of the cock is heard on Christmas Eve in celebration of the divine ascent from hell, which the Christians in the time of Prudentius believed to have taken place during the tranquillity of the night, when no sound was heard but that of the rejoicing bird:—

> "—— Quod omnes credimus,
> Illo quietis tempore,
> Quo gallus exsultans canit,
> Christum rediisse ex inferis."‡

The ghost of Helgi Hundingsbana (the slayer of Hunding), in the Scandinavian Edda, collected in the eleventh century, assigns the crowing of the cock as the reason for his return to the hall of Odin, or the sun:—

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* Lond. Journ., Vol. I., p. 305.

† Hymn I. Ad Galli Cantum, v. 37, Edit. Parmæ, 1788.

‡ Ibid., v. 65.

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"'Tis time now to ride
To the reddening road,
To let my pale steed
Tread the air-path.
O'er the bridges of heaven,*
The sky must I reach
Ere the cock of the hall
Wake the heroes up."†

And Bürger's demon horseman, in correspondence with this notion, appropriately finds that he and his infernal steed must, like "the buried majesty of Denmark," speedily depart, because the cock is heard to crow:—

"Rapp'! Rapp'! Mich dunkt der Hahn schon rufft.
Bald wird der Sand verinnen."‡

The Cock sacred to the sun.

This widely spread superstition is, in all probability, a misunderstood tradition of some Sabæan fable. The cock, which seems by its early voice to call forth the sun, was esteemed a sacred solar bird; hence it was also sacred to Mercury, one of the personifications of the sun. Nergal, the idol of the Cuthites, considered by Selden to be a symbol of the sun, was worshipped under the form of a cock.§ The anecdote of Socrates, which the elder Racine has so well explained,‖ has rendered it sufficiently notorious that the cock was sacred to Esculapius, whom we have shown to be a solar incarnation; and the story of the metamorphosis of Alectryon, by Lucian, equally proves its intimate connection with this luminary in mythology.

The ceremonies which take place in some countries, and which were formerly general on this day, Dr. Forster observes, are of the most pleasing character, and serve to amuse in this dreary season. The houses and churches bedecked with evergreens and their beautiful berries, the merry carols sung about the villages, the waits or night music, and the cheerful bells, which commence their music

* Bifröst, the rainbow.
† Knight, Tales and Popular Fictions, p. 278.
‡ Lenore, stanza 27.
§ De Diis Syris, Syntagm. II., cap. 8.
‖ Mem. de Racine, Tom. II., p. 404.

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at midnight, are naturally calculated to elevate joyously the imagination; an effect not a little enhanced by the various early recollections of childhood, with which Christmas and its festivities are in the minds of most connected.

One of the most remarkable of the events of this season is its feasting. "The plum-puddings, mince pies, and a thousand made dishes of exquisite sorts, such as people in common have but once a year, used to be, and still are in some places, brought on the jovial board of hospitality. The Christmas dinner usually took place after mass and before vespers, and afterwards in the evening the wassail bowl, christmas carols, and merry songs, with various pastimes, jokes, Christmas games and drolleries, made up the evening's entertainment, which was heightened by the merry ringing of the bells, and the mixture of music, played both in the streets and houses."* The Christmas dinner was probably eaten at the same hour as other dinners were, that is about mid-day, which has long been called, with little regard to verbal accuracy, noon,† which was originally the ninth hour counted from sunrise, and consequently answered to our three o'clock. Julius Cæsar, Bulenger,‡ Pancirol, and his commentator Salmuth, have shown that the Romans took breakfast at the third hour from sunrise, and dinner at the ninth hour, called *nona*, or noon. The γευμα of the Greeks was about the same time as the *prandium*, or dinner of the Romans, that is, about our three o'clock.§ This division of the day, as well as the names of the hours, was followed by the ecclesiastics until an arrangement in the court of Charlemagne in the time of Lent, by advancing the canonical hours, caused 12 o'clock, the ancient sixth hour, to bear the name of the ninth hour. Before the ninth century, when this change was made,

Dinner hour.

* Dr. Forster, Peren. Calend., p. 172.

† See Gloss. Art. *Nona.*

‡ De Conviviis, Lib. I., cap. 23.

§ De Rebus Memor. et Deperd., Par. I., p. 239, 244.

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abstinence from food at particular parts of the day was rigidly observed. At first, the fast of Lent consisted in taking only one repast in the evening after vespers. This being inconvenient, supper was advanced to the hour of none, or 3 o'clock, when it was customary to ring to divine service; thus, in the book of ecclesiastical laws, in the time of Ethelred, it is observed, that many people have a custom, when they ought to fast, of running to their meat as soon as they hear the noon bell.* After the noon service, mass was celebrated, and after mass, vespers, when the more rigid allowed themselves to eat; but those who had not leisure or devotion for these offices, took the bell for service for the bell of repast. The emperor Charlemagne caused mass to be celebrated in his palace during Lent at 2 o'clock in the afternoon; mass was followed by vespers, after which he sat at table about 3 o'clock, observing the custom of not eating till after vespers. His motive for it was that his officers should not be detained too long without food; for at this period, he was served at table by the monarchs and princes of the people whom he had subdued; the kings and dukes then sate at table, and were served by counts; the counts sat after them and were served by other officers, the next in rank below them; so that the last officers did not sit at table until midnight, which would have been still later, if the emperor had not advanced the hour of vespers. We have just seen that this custom of eating at noon soon afterwards found its way into England; in the tenth century it was received throughout Italy; but it was not till after vespers; for they began the noon service, or office of none, a little after mid-day, and then said mass and vespers. In the twelfth century, noon and mid-day seem to have been synonymous in England. The Saxon annalist says,

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* Monezna monna zepuna ir þonne he pærten rceolan. Þ rona rpa hiz þa non-bellan zehýnað hiz to mete þoð.—*Lib. Leg. Eccles.*, cap. 39.

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that on March 21, 1140, a total eclipse of the sun occurred about noon-tide when men eat, and the day was so dark that they lighted candles to eat by.† This was the established dinner hour in the reign of Edward I.; Robert of Brunne says:—

"To morn on the none-tide whan thei were at the mete."† It is, therefore, with reason that Strutt supposes that our ancestors dined about 12 or 1 o'clock;‡ but in France this change did not take place until 1200. Afterwards, the repast was insensibly advanced till mid-day, which happened in 1500, and then vespers were said before 12 o'clock.§

Froissart, quoted by Hume, mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaster at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had supped.‖ This was in the reign of Edward the Third, or Richard the Second; and by way of proving that, although *nona* is properly the ninth hour, or our three o'clock, it was employed by our ancestors in the same sense that we use it, there is this passage in a proclamation of the reign of Edward the Fourth, "and the hour of xii. commonly called the howre of none."¶ But a distinction seems to be made in a curious clause in a statute of Henry the Seventh, between the dinner and the noon meal of our working people:—"Divers artificers and laborers reteyned to werke and serve, waste werke moch part of the day, and deserve not ther wagis; sume tyme in late comyng vnto ther werke, erly departing therefro, longe sitting at ther brekfast, at ther dyner, and nonemete, and long tyme of

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* Ðeꝛ eꝛteꝛ in þe Lengten þeꝛꝛteþe þe ꝛunne. ⁊ te þæi abuton non-tiþ þæieꝛ ða men eten þei men lihteþe canþleꝛ to æten bi: anþ þet paꝛ xiii. kl. Apꝛil.

† Chron., p. 276.

‡ Horda Angel-Cynna, Vol. III., p. 146.

§ Morcri, Tom. VII., C. p. 150.

‖ Hist. Engl., Vol. IV., note §.

¶ Rot. Parl., Tom. VI., p. 23.

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sleping at after none."* Harrison, in his *Description of Brittaine*, prefixed to Hollinshed's Chronicles, gives us some particulars respecting meal-times in the reign of Elizabeth, but I have only the modernized quotation of Hume before me:—"With us the nobility, gentry, and students go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon, and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen also dine at high noon as they call it, and sup at seven or eight; but out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten." At the end of the following century and the beginning of the eighteenth, we find, from complaints interspersed through the numerous periodical essays which were issued at that time, that there was then, as now, a regular progression of late hours. "In my own memory," says one writer, "the dinner has crept by degrees from twelve o'clock to three, and where it will fix, nobody knows."† The journal of a fine lady, in the Spectator, represents her dinner hour to be between three and four; and that of the citizen out of trade, his to be at two. Beyond this point the enquiry is useless.

The highest and lowest ranks had their seasonable enjoyments at Christmas; Sir John Paston, speaking of Edward VI., in 1471, says, "the kyng hath kept a ryall Crystmasse," but none have assigned a better reason for keeping a royal Christmas than Sir John himself, who had incurred considerable peril to his person by his adherence to the unfortunate Henry VI:—"Plese yow to wete," he says, in the same letter, "thatt I have my pardon, as y• berer can informe yow, for comfforte whereoffe I have been the maryer thys Crystmasse."‡

A superstitious notion prevails in the western parts of

* Stat. 2 Hen. VII., cap. 22.

† Tatler, No. 263.

‡ Sir John Fenn's Collect. Paston Letters, Vol. II., p. 268.

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Devonshire, that at twelve o'clock at night on Christmas Eve, the oxen in their stalls are always found on their knees in the attitude of devotion; and that "since the alteration of the style," says Brande, "they contrive to do this only on the eve of old Christmas day." They are, however, transcended by the peasantry of Bayeux, in Normandy, who are firmly persuaded that their cattle pass this night in edifying conversation.*

> "I care not for Jean Jacques Rousseau,
> Whether beasts confabulate or no."

There is an old print of the Nativity, in which the oxen in the stable, near the virgin and child, are depicted on their knees, as in a suppliant posture. From this print, of which, Mr. Hone observes, there are innumerable copies, the superstition has probably arisen; Sannazarius, in his celebrated poem, *De Partu Virginis*, represents an ox and an ass falling upon their knees before the new-born child.

With regard to Christmas Eve, the vulgar entertain numerous ridiculous notions, and on this night observe many superstitious ceremonies. Many believe that bees sing in their hives to welcome the approaching day. Women will not venture to leave any flax or yarn on their wheels, under an apprehension that the evil one would assuredly cut it for them before morning. Those who are in a single state, assign another reason for this custom; that their rocks would otherwise follow them to church on their marriage.

Superstitions respecting Salt.

If any flax be left on their rock, they salt it,† in order to

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* M. Pluquet, Contes Populaires, &c.

† A particular sanctity has by many nations been believed to reside in salt; hence the expression θειος αλς, divine salt, by Homer; and ιερος αλες, holy salt, by others. Grillandus, (de Sortilegiis) says that salt was never used in the festivals of witches.—*Malleus Maleficarum*, Tom. II., p. 215. The following passage from the metrical "History of the Family of Stanley," (Harl. MS. 541,) written about the time of Henry the Eighth. (Cole's MSS., Vol. XXIX., p. 104, Mus. Brit.) alludes to a supposed power of salt to resist evil influences, on which account our ancestors employed it

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preserve it from Satanic power. The same custom obtains on Good Friday; but a reason is given for this, different from both those which have already been mentioned: on this day, it is said, a rope could not be found to bind our Saviour to the cross, and the yarn was taken off a woman's wheel for the purpose. *Christmas.*

The eve as well as the day was anciently a season of great hospitality. The following description of primitive manners in the houses of the gentry at Christmas, is extracted by Mr. Baines from a family manuscript of the Cunliffe's, of Wycoller, in Lancashire, and refers to an age antecedent to the wars of the parliament:—"At Wycoller Hall the family usually kept open house the twelve days at Christmas. Their entertainment was, a large hall of curious ashler work, a long table, plenty of *Furmerty*, like new milk, in a morning, made of husked wheat boiled, roasted beef with a fat goose and a pudding, with plenty of good beer for dinner. A roundabout fire-place, surrounded with stone benches, where the young folks sat and cracked nuts, and diverted themselves; and in this manner the sons and daughters got matching without going much from home."* In the noble fire-place of this ancient hall, as represented in the splendid engraving of a Christmas feast there, which accompanies the description, the yule log must have flamed like a volcano. Nor were the manners of the higher ranks of nobility different from those of the gentry at this period. Of Mr. Howard, afterwards the sixth duke of Norfolk, Edward, the son of Sir Thomas Browne, says in his Journal, *Hospitality.* *Furmerty.*

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in the interval from the birth to baptism, probably as a preservative from the devil and his angels. The writer is speaking of a foundling, and says:—

"It was uncrisned, seeming out of doubt,
For salt was bound at its necke in a linen clout."

It appears from Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, that salt is sprinkled over a child in order to avert the Evil Eye.—*Quart. Rev.*, cxvii., p. 181. See other superstitions on this head in Pancirol, P. i., p. 37.

* Hist. Lancashire, Vol. III., p. 244.

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that "he kept his Christmas this year (1663-4) at Norwich so magnificently as the like hath scarce been seen. They had dancing every night, and gave entertainments to all that would come. He built up a room on purpose to dance in, very large, and hung with the bravest hangings I ever saw. His candlesticks, snuffers, tongs, fire shovels and irons, were silver. A banquet was given every night after dancing, and three coaches were employed to fetch the ladies every afternoon, the greatest of which would holde fourteen persons, and cost £500 without the harnessing, which cost six score more."*

Jul.

Christmas or *Yule*, to the Christian world the glorious commemoration of the birth of a Saviour, was, however, as appears from the account of Procopius, originally no other than the Gothic pagan festival of *Jul*,† celebrated professedly in honor of Thor, the son of Odin, answering to the Diespiter or Jupiter of the Romans, but really in honor of the sun at the winter solstice. Among the northern nations, this festival was the great season of sacrifice, and the Danes seem to have immolated human victims on the altars of their spurious deities. The Goths used to sacrifice a boar; for this animal, like the horse among the Persians, was, according to their mythology, sacred to the sun. The boar was the Typhon of the Egyptians, the implacable enemy of Osiris, the sun, who, under his Syrian appellation of Thammuz, was annually slain by this obscene beast.

The boar, a solar emblem.

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* Edinb. Rev., No. CXXIX., Oct. 1836, p. 25, 6.

† Called also *Gole Feast*. The Dano-Saxon *Iol*, and the Icelandic *Ol*, are observed by Dr. Hickes to signify the same as the Saxon ȝeol, a feast, In fact, the Saxon prefix ȝe is merely added for euphony, ȝe-ol. The original word, according to Bede, was hpel, or hpeol, a wheel; in Icelandic, *hiel* and *huel*. The prefix ȝe, added to the former, made ȝehpel, ȝehpeol, whence ȝehol, ȝeol, ȝiul. Loccenius, in Antiq. Sueo Gotth., Lib. I., cap. 5, observes that in the Runico-Norwegian almanacs a wheel was painted at the Feast of the Nativity. The reason is obvious; on this day the year began, the sun having completed his circle, commenced a new revolution. For a learned dissertation on these words, see Dr. Hickes' notes to a Dano-Saxon Menology.—*Thesaur.*, Tom. I., p. 211—214.

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Christmas. Typhon.

The monster Typhon, whose name, derived from τυφομαι, to foam, in some respects traces his origin, was at one time symbolical of the deluge, at others, of a whirlwind, but most commonly the annual inundations of the Nile. He also appears in several important features of his character to correspond with *Loki*, the evil principle of Scandinavia; and enacting in Egypt the part performed by the boar in Syria, is said to have dilacerated Osiris, and to have scattered his limbs over the earth, a misfortune which equally befel Bacchus, and the Maha Deva or Iswara of India,* where the same beast was also one of the incarnations of the god Vishnou, or the sun, according to the third Hindoo Avatars. The Cabirian or Sabæan traditions of this allegorical murder reached Europe with the Celts, for we find the boar, or rather the female, among the Druidical sacrifices at Autumn. Whether the Goths adopted traditions already introduced into the north, or imported others, several traces of the sacrifice of a boar to the sun at the winter solstice, have been preserved. In the story of Loki and the dwarf, related in the Edda, the golden boar is given to Freyr, to whom and his sister Freya, as deities of animal

* Diod. Sicul. Bibl., Lib. I., p. 17. The connection of *Adonis* with these solar beings has already been noticed; and it may be further observed, that the abbé Caperan traces his name to a primitive word, which he explains to signify the fiery principle, fire, the producer, or, perhaps, caloric: "base, feu principe, feu producteur."—*Whiter, Etymol. Univers.*, Vol. I., p. 197, 198. The death of the sun, Osiris or Adonis, the mystic flight of Bacchus, the death of Hercules, and other similar allegories, are evidently intended to express the recess of the sun into the southern hemisphere. On his return to the summer solstice, all Egypt, indeed, all the East, was dissolved in mirth and jollity. Macrobius has assembled a great number of names by which the sun and moon were known to various ancient nations: the Ammonites called the former *Moloch;* the Syrians, *Adad;* the Arabs, *Dionysus;* the Assyrians, *Belus;* the Phœnicians, *Saturn;* the Carthaginians, *Hercules;* and the Palmyrians, *Elizabulus*. The moon was *Cybele*, in Phrygia; *Minerva*, in Athens; *Diana*, in Crete; *Isis*, in Egypt; and in other places she was *Hecate, Bellona, Vesta, Urania, Lucina*, &c.—*Asiat. Res.* Vol. III., p. 130. The eastern nations, as well as the Caledonians, still hold swine's flesh in abhorrence.

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Julagalt.

and vegetable fecundity, the northern nations offered that animal, as the Italians did to the earth.* In this point of view the boar is the decent substitute for the obscene phallus in the rites of Bacchus and Osiris; and, at this day, it is customary among the peasants in the northern parts of the continent to make bread during Christmas in the form of a boar pig, which they place upon the table with bacon and other dishes; exposing it, as a good omen, the whole of the feast. They call this bread *Julagalt*, and sometimes *Sunnugoltr*, because it was dedicated to the sun.† Our Christmas pies were formerly made in this form, until they degenerated to the lugubrious shape of a coffin. According to northern mythology the boar was the favorite dish of their immortalised heroes. The twentieth fable of the Edda contains a remarkable conversation respecting the food and drink of the departed Gothic warriors in the palace of *Walhall*, or Valhalla:—"But," inquires Gangler, "if every man who has been slain in battle since the beginning of the world, repairs to the palace of Odin, what food does that god assign to so vast a multitude?" Haar answered him,—"The cook Andrimmer dresses the wild boar incessantly in his pot, the heroes are fed with the lard or fat of this animal, which exceeds everything in the world; as to Odin himself, wine is to him instead of every aliment.‡

Boar's Head.

Analagous to the Julagalt was the boar's head soused, with a lemon in its mouth, which anciently with us was the first dish brought on table on Christmas day.§ For this

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* Keightley, Fairy Mythology, Vol. I., p. 119.

† Both are considered by Verelius to be a remnant of the worship of Odin. Dr. Jamieson, Etymol. Dict., Art. *Maiden.*

‡ The heroes are fed on the lard of the wild boar Sehrimner, in the Edda of Resenius, Dæmesaga 33.

§ Strutt observes, that with us the boar's head was highly esteemed, and served on the royal table in great state on the day of coronation.—*Horda Angel-cynna*, Vol. II., p. 19. Among the Romans the boar was, like the hare among us, frequently sent as a present, when, says Martial:—

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indispensable ceremony there was a carol, which Ritson, in his Observations on Warton's History of English Poetry, quotes from a manuscript, and which is considerably more ancient than Wynkyn de Worde's Christmasse Carolle.*

Premising that "Nowell," in the chorus, is the French *Nouel* or *Noel*, Ritson's carol is as follows:—

"IN DIE NATIUITATIS.

"Nowell, Nowell, Nowell, Nowell,
Tydinge gode I thingke to telle.
"The borys hede that we bryng here,
Betokeneth a prince with owte pere
Ys born thys day to bye v' dere.

"Nowell, Nowell, Nowell, Nowell,
Tyding gode y thingke to telle.
"A bore is a souerayn beste
And acceptable in eu'ry feste,
So mote thys lorde be the moste and leste.

"Nowell, Nowell, Nowell, Nowell,
Tydinge gode y thingke to telle.
"This borys hede we bryng with song,
In worchyp of hym that thus sprung
Of a virgine to redresse all wrong.
"Nowell, Nowell, Nowell, Nowell,
Tyding gode y thingke to telle."

"Pinguescant madidi læti nitore Penates,
Flagret et exciso festa culina jugo."

but, as its preparation for the table was expensive, the acceptance of the gift was sometimes declined:—

"Ad dominum redeas: noster te non capit ignis,
Conturbator aper."

They sometimes served up the animal whole, "aprum ad convivia natum," as a dish of state:—

"In primis Lucanus aper leni fuit Austro
Captus, ut ajebat cœnæ pater."

Hor. II., Sat. 8, 6.

The boar was sometimes the military ensign of the Romans, instead of the bird of Jove, one solar emblem in place of the other. Among physicians, a boar's bladder has been reputed a specific for the epilepsy; and the tusk still passes with some as of great efficacy in quinsies and pleurisies.

* See Warton, Vol. III., p. 144. Strutt, Lib. cit., Vol. III., p. 110.

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Unlike the above, Wynkyn de Worde's carol, though more scholarly, is destitute of a theological reason for the appearance of this savoury dish on the Christmas table. According to Warton, it is still sung with variations at Queen's College, Oxford; and if tradition deceive not, this deficiency will admit of easy explanation. According to Mr. Wade, the usage is a commemoration of an act of valor performed by a student of the college, who, while walking in the neighbouring forest of Shotover, and reading Aristotle, was suddenly attacked by a wild boar. The furious beast came open-mouthed upon the youth, who, however, very courageously, and with a happy presence of mind rammed in the volume, and crying *Græcum est*, fairly choked the savage with the sage.*

Boar hunting.

Conformably with customs and opinions of remote antiquity, an old tradition existing within the town of Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, asserts that every burgess at his admission to the freedom of the borough, anciently presented to the mayor a boar's head, or an equivalent in money, when the animal could not be procured. The old seal of the mayor of Grimsby represents a boar hunt; and it seems that in former times this was a very prevalent and favorite amusement with the townsmen; and the lord of the adjacent manor of Bradley was obliged by his tenure to keep a supply of these animals in his wood for the entertainment of the mayor and burgesses; and an annual hunting match was officially proclaimed on some particular day after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. In the midst of these extensive woods the sport was followed with avidity; and seldom indeed did the assembled train fail to bring down a leash of noble boars, which were designed for a public entertainment on the following day. At this feast the newly elected mayor took his seat at the head of the table, which contained the whole body corporate and the principal

* Walks in Oxford, Vol. I., p. 128. Hone's Year Book, p. 1502.

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gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood; and the chief dishes were the three boars' heads, two of which were placed before the mayor, and the third opposite the marshall, who was seated at the foot of the table. Hence probably the origin of the seal of the corporation, a *chevron between three boars' heads.* Such was the attachment of the corporation to their ancient dish that they secured a provision for it in the summer season by letting the ferry between Grimsby and Hull for a certain period, commencing June 20, 1620, at an annual rent of "one good and well fed brawn on the feast day of St. John the Baptist, and one quarter of well fed ox beef, and twenty shillings on the feast day of St. Thomas."*

Roman Boar Hunting in Britain.

The boar hunt appears to have always been a favorite diversion in this island, and there is in fact extant a trace of its existence among the Romans here. Dr. Birch, in 1748, communicated to the Royal Society, a very curious and perfect Roman inscription, which was found near Stanhope, in the bishopric of Durham. It is a votive offering to the God of Woods, and records that Ctetius Veturius Micianus, prefect of the Sebosian wing, more fortunate than many other huntsmen, who had all failed in their attempts, had just taken a boar of the largest size. The inscription has been copied as follows:—

SILVANOINVICTOSACRVM
CTETIVSVETVRIVSMICIA
NVSPREFALAESEBOSIAA:
NAEOBAPRAMEXIMIAE
FORMAECAPTAMQVEM
MVLTIANTECESSO
RESEIVSPRAEDARI
NONPOTVERVNTVVSLP.†

Aubrey, who wrote in 1686, speaks, be it observed, of the general custom as extinct before his time: "Before the

* Gent. Mag., Vol. XCVIII., p. 401, 402.

† Phil. Trans., Feb. and Mar., 1748, art. 6. Journ. Britannique, Tom. I. Avril, an. 1750, p. 12, 13.

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last civil wars, in gentlemen's houses at Christmas, the first dish that was brought to the table, was a boar's head with a lemon in his mouth."

Letting in Yule.

In some parts of Scotland, he who first opens the door on Yule Day, expects to prosper more than any other member of the family, during the future year, because, as the vulgar express it, "He lets in Yule." On opening the door, it is customary with some, to place in the door-way a table or chair covered with a clean cloth; and, according to their own language, to "Set on it bread and cheese to Yule." Early in the morning, as soon as any one of the family gets out of bed, a new besom is set behind the outer door, the design being to "let in Yule." These superstitions, in which Yule is not only personified, but treated as a deity, are evidently of heathen origin. It is also common to have a table covered in the house, from morning until evening, with bread and drink upon it, that every one who calls may take a portion, and it is considered particularly inauspicious if any one comes into a house and leaves it without participation. Whatever number of persons call on this day, all must partake of the good cheer.*

First Foot.

A similar superstition prevails, on this subject, in the north of England and in Scotland, but on New Year's Day —It is that of the *First Foot*, the name applied to the person, who first enters a house in the new year; this is regarded by the superstitions as influencing the fate of the family, especially of the fair portion of it, for the ensuing year. To exclude all suspected or unlucky persons, it is customary for one of the damsels to engage before hand some favoured youth, who, elated with so signal a mark of female distinction, gladly comes early in the morning, and never empty handed.† In Lancashire, even in the larger towns, it is considered at this time of day, particu-

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* Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Yule*.

† Brockett, Gloss of N. Country Words, p. 72. Jamieson, ibid. art. *First Fit*.

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larly fortunate if "a black man," meaning one of a dark complexion, be the first person that enters the house.

Christmas.

A ridiculous rite is observed in Scotland. Any servant who is supposed to have a due regard to the interests of the family, and is not at the same time emancipated from the yoke of superstition, is careful to go early to the well on Christmas morning to draw water, pull the corn out of the sack, and also to bring kale from the kitchen garden. This is intended to insure prosperity to the family. It is in fact the same as the *Usque Cashrichd*, which will be noticed among the superstitions of the first of January.

Tree Wassailing.

The custom of saluting the apple trees at christmas, with a view to influence their produce another year, yet exists in the western counties of England. In some places, the inhabitants, forming a procession, walk to the principal orchards in the parish. In each orchard one tree is selected as the representative of the rest: this is saluted with a certain form of words, having in them the air of an incantation.* They then either sprinkle the tree with cider, or dash a bottle of that liquor against it, to insure its bearing plentifully the ensuing year, according to the observation of Robert Herrick:—

> "Wassaile the trees, that they may beare
> You many a plum, and many a peare;
> For more or lesse fruits they will bring,
> And you do give them wassailing."

Wassail Bowl.

The *wassail*,—a word transferred from the custom of drinking healths to the bowl, and particularly that which enlivened the festive board of Yule, and afterwards to a bowl of spiced ale, borne by young women on the new year,†—is said to have originated from the words of

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* Dr. Forster, ubi suprà. Hone, E. Day Book, Vol. I. p. 42.

† "The wenches with their wassel bowls
About the streets are singing."

G. Wither, on Christmas.

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Vortigern and Rowena.

Rowena, the daughter of Hengist. Speed relates the anecdote from John Stowe:—"For feasting the king in the castle of Tonng, commanded his daughter, a lady of passing beautie to attend the banquet, whose excellent feature and seemelie behauiour, blew the sparks of desire so right into Vortigern's wanton eyes, that they presently kindled a flame in his lasciuious heart: for in the midst of his cups Rowena (so was the damosell called) with a low reuerence and pleasing grace, saluted the king with a cup of gold full of sweet wine, incharming it with these words in her language Wæſ heal hlaford cyning, which is in English, *Be of health, lord king:** he demanding the reason, would be taught to answer to her owne vnderstanding, and said, Drinc heal, that is, Drinke health.† If the derivation of *wassail,* which is a corrupt pronunciation of the *Waes hael,* in this story, "should be thought doubtful," says Strutt, "I can only say that it has the authority at least of antiquity on its side."‡ In fact, Robert of Gloucester, in the early part of the reign of Edward the First, relates the anecdote, and draws the same inference: he says that, after the king had received the bowl from the Saxon princess, he

> "Kuste hire and sitte hire adoune, and glad dronk hire heil
> And that was thro in this land the verst was-heil."

Peter de Langtoft, in the reign of Edward the Second, as translated by Robert of Brunne, narrates the same anecdote, and ascribes to Sir Breg, a knight in the company present, an explanation of the Saxon custom, which may no doubt be considered as that of the fourteenth century:—

> "Sir, Breg said, Rowen yow gretis,
> And king callis and lord yow letis. [esteems]

* This translation is correct: but the learned editor of the *Encyclopædia Perthensis* translates *Wæshæl,* "Your health"! Art. *Wassail.*

† Hist. Engl. p. 205. n. 4. Edit. Fol. 1632.

‡ Glig Gamena, B. IV. ch. 3. sect. 26.

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This es ther custom and ther gest,
Whan thei are atte the ale or fest.
Ilk man that louis quare him think,
Salle say Wosseille, and to him drink.
He that bidis salle say, Wassaille,
The tother salle say again, Drinkhaille
That sais Wosseille drinkis of the cop,
Kiss and his felaw he gives it up.
Drinkheille, he sais, and drinke ther of,
Kissand him in bourd and skof." [sport.]

He subjoins that the story was noised about, and the behaviour of Rowena and the king on this occasion became generally imitated,

"Thus was wassaille tane *to thank*."

This explanation of the term, however, shows how soon the Saxon was forgotten. The Anglo-Norman author of a Christmas carol appears to employ the word in its original sense of *Be thou healthy*:—

"Si io vus di trestoz Wesseyl
Dehaiz eit qui ne dirra Drincheil,"

which is pretty nearly imitated in an ancient drinking song, of which the second line is expletive,

"Now wassel to you all,
And merry may you be;
And foul that wight befall,
Who drinks not health to me."

Waes-hael at an early date, became, not unnaturally, the name of the drinking cup of our ancestors. In religious houses the Wassail Bowl was set at the upper end of the table, for the use of the abbot, who began the health, or *Poculum Charitatis*, to strangers or to his brethren. Hence cakes and fine white bread, which were usually sopped in the bowl, were called *Wassail Bread*.* Edmund, earl of March, bequeaths in 1382, the date of his will, a silver cup,

Wassail Bread.

* Matt. Paris. p. 141.

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called Wassaill, to Sir John de Briddlewode.* "The wassails," says Strutt, "are now quite obsolete; it seems, however, that fifty years back, some vestiges of them were remaining in Cornwall; but the time of their performance was changed to Twelfth Day."† The eve of this day in Yorkshire, in the last century, was called *Wassail Eve*, from the use of the Wassail Bowl, a preparation of spiced ale.‡

Gothic Jul.

Among the Gothic usages of Jul or Yule, it may be mentioned that it was also customary, especially in Sweden, for different families to assemble in one village, and to bring with them meat and drink for the celebration of the feast; the same was observed when there was a general concourse to the place where one of their temples stood; and this was probably the origin of the custom still maintained among us, of relations and friends feasting at each other's houses at this time:—

"Now all our neighbour's chimnies smoke,
And *Christmas Blocks* are burning;
Their ovens they with baked meats choke,
And all their spits are turning.
Without the door let sorrow lye;
And if for cold it hap to die,
We'll bury 't in a *Christmas Pie*,
And evermore be merry."§

Christmas. Pie.

The mirth here described to have been the concomitant of the Christmas Pie, which was a dish originally formed like the body of a boar, as already mentioned, but which was afterwards moulded in the melancholy model of a

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* "Un hanap d' argent appellez Wassaill." *Nichol's Royal Wills*, p. 115, The editor refers to notes in Dodsley's Old Play, 1779, Vol. VI., p. 437. Vol. X., p. 280.

† Strutt, ubi suprà.

‡ Gent. Mag. Feb. 1784.

§ George Withers, On Christmas.

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coffin, to represent the manger of the infant Jesus,* seems to have been the exciting and real cause of the antipathy borne by the Puritans towards this cheerful emblem of ancient hospitality. They quarrelled not only with the Christmas Pie, but with every other dainty provided for social repast at this season, and, like some modern saints, they strove to render periods of harmless cessation from the active business of life as disagreeable as possible. With this object in view, to use the language of Butler,

> "Rather than fail, they do defy
> That which they love most tenderly;
> Quarrel with minc'd pies and disparage
> Their best and dearest friend plum-porridge;
> Fat beef, and goose itself oppose
> And blaspheme custard through the nose."

Puritanical Proceedings.

The gravity of the historian seems to be disturbed by his own account of their awful proceedings;—"Such love of contradiction prevailed in the parliament, that they had converted Christmas, which with churchmen was a great festival, into a solemn fast and humiliation;" 'In order (as they said) that it might call to remembrance our sins and the sins of our forefathers, who pretending to celebrate the memory of christ, have turned this fast into an extreme forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights.' It is remarkable that as the parliament abolished all holy days, and severely prohibited all amusement on the sabbath,—the nation found that there was no time left for relaxation or diversion. Upon application, therefore, of the servants and apprentices, the parliament appointed the second Tuesday of every month for play and recreation.

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* Selden's Table Talk. The annotator on Taming of the Shrew, Act IV. sc. 3,—

> ——"It is a paltry cap,
> A custard coffin, a bauble, a silken pie;"—

Custard Coffin.

observes that "a coffin was the culinary term for raised crusts." *Stevens. Shaksp.* Vol. III. p. 371.

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But these institutions they found great difficulty to execute; and the people were resolved to be merry when they themselves pleased, not when the parliament should prescribe it to them. The keeping of Christmas holidays was long a mark of great malignancy, and very severely censured by the commons. Even minced pies, which custom had made a Christmas dish, were regarded during that season as a profane and superstitious vanity, though at other times, it agreed very well with their stomachs.* On this subject, R. Fletcher, in a satire against the puritans, in 1656, represents one as exclaiming;—

Mince Pies profane.

> "Christ-mass! give me my beads: the word implies
> A plot, by its ingredients beef and pyes.
> The cloyster'd steaks with salt and pepper lye
> Like Nunnes with patches in a monasterie.
> Prophaneness in a conclave! Nay, much more,
> Idolatrie in crust! ——
> —— and bak'd by hanches, then
> Serv'd up in coffins to unholy men;
> Defil'd with superstition, like the Gentiles
> Of old, that worship'd onions, roots and lentiles!"

Though this warfare against the favorite of our youthful friend Jack Horner,† was effectively neutralized by its own absurdity, the festivities of Christmas have passed their zenith, and year after year witnesses the gradual declension of this season of seasons. But we have not yet done with Christmas, for its 'Little Kings' formerly extended their jovial reign to twenty days,‡ enacting many superstitious rites and observances which may not be passed without

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* Hume, Hist. Engl. Vol. VII., ch. 57. p. 32.

† "A Christmas Poem;—*Latine redditum*

> Sedens Johannes parvus in angulo
> Hornerus edit crustula Christmica;*(a)*
> Et dixit, ut pruna extrahebat
> Pollice, 'Quam sum ego suavis infans!

‡ Gloss, *Les Petits Rois.—Viginti Dies.*

(a) "Vox ficta ob necessitatem Alcaicam."

Fraser's Mag. 1832.

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notice; though in the old Runic Kalendars five days only are distinguished as "quinque dies Nativitatis:" these are Christmas Day, St. Stephen's, St. John's, Childermas, and St. Thomas of Canterbury. *Christmas.*

In many parts of England, the custom of giving *Christmas Boxes*, or presents, although falling into disuse, is still a serious tax on large families and establishments. In some places, it is wholly confined to children. Parish boys and children at school in London, still carry about their specimens of writing, asking for their Christmas box; hence in that city the morrow of the Nativity, or St. Stephen's day, Dec. 26, is called *Boxing Day*. As to the origin of this name, it has been ascribed to the following custom:— *Boxing Day.* "Whenever a ship sailed from any of those parts, where the religious were under the authority of the Church of Rome, a certain saint was always named, unto whose protection its safety was committed, and in that ship there was a box, and into that box every poor person put something in order to induce the priests to pray to that saint for the safe return of the vessel; which box was locked up by the priests, who said that the money should not be taken out until the vessel came back.* Another and more probable explanation is given by a well informed anonymous writer. "Christmas Boxes," he says, "may be assimilated to, and probably originated from the Roman Paganalia, which were instituted, according to Dionysius, by Servius Tullius, and celebrated in honor of Ceres at the beginning of the year. An altar was erected in every village, where persons gave money. The apprentices' boxes were formerly made of pottery; and Aubrey mentions a pot, in which Roman denarii were found resembling in appearance an apprentice's earthen Christmas Box. Count Caylus gives two of these Paganalian boxes; one exhibiting Ceres seated between two figures standing; the other with a head of Hercules. The Heathen plan was commuted in the Middle Age to *Paganalia.*

* Times Telescope for 1832.

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collections for masses, in order to absolve the debaucheries of the season, which the servants were unable to pay.* In like manner, the grooms of the earl of Northumberland's chamber had a Christmas box, and it is recorded that the earl deposited in it XXs.†

Christmas.

The donations made among different nations at the commencement of the year, had certainly at first no reference to the return of that period. In the first place, the Romans from whom the custom is immediately derived, commemorated the conduct of the Sabine women in effecting the reconciliation between their countrymen and the Romans, on the Kalends or first of March in the infancy of the city, by making them presents on that day, which for a long time was also the day of the new year. The second commencement of the new year was January 1, and was marked by the transmission of presents among friends in token of good will. This custom was deduced from the Saturnalia, celebrated at first, it would appear on Dec. 11, which was the day of the winter solstice:‡ As the Kalends of March were sacred to women, and thence called *Fœmineis Calendis*, as we find from Juvenal,

"Munera fœmineis tractas secreta Calendis;"

so the Saturnalia were dedicated to the men,§ to whom in like manner the women sent presents. The Saturnalia, Brumalia and Bacchanalia, seem originally to have been celebrated at the same time; afterwards the Saturnalia were removed lower down the Kalendar; they were prolonged by the addition of the Sigillaria; and at length protracted to January 1; or at least the popular rites properly due to them, were commingled with the ceremonies of the intervenient festivals. Certainly the custom of sending the Saturnalian presents, called *Strenæ*, continued at one time

Strenæ.

* Gent. Mag. Vol. XCVIII., P. ii., p. 506., note.

† Northumberland Household Book, p. 345.

‡ Macrob. Saturn. Lib. I., cap. 2.

§ Salmuth. in Panciroll. de Reb. Deperd. et Mem. P. i., tit. 64., p. 348.

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past the first of January, to which it required an imperial edict to restrain them. To this day in the middle ages they communicated their name, *Dies Strenarum*, of which the French retain a descendant in one of their appellations of New Year's Day, *Jour d' Etrennes*. *Christmas.*

Our custom of sending annual presents on Dec. 26, may be a relic of the early Roman Saturnalia; or it may have been, among our ancestors, intended to mark the commencement of the new year, which began on Christmas Day; but as this day was assigned to devotional exercises, they might select St. Stephen's day for these testimonies of mutual friendship.

The Scottish custom of presenting what the common people term a *Sweetieskon*, which is a loaf enriched with raisins, currants and spicery, has an evident analogy to that of the Romans.* In Leeds, and perhaps, other parts of Yorkshire, bread of this kind, called *Spice Cake*, is offered to visitors to be eaten with cheese. It is common, in Scotland, to carry some trifling present, as a piece of bread, a little oatmeal, or coin. Such gifts were called by the Romans *Saturnalitia*. The *Saturnalia*, whence they took their name, continued seven days, including the *Sigillaria*.† During this season of festivity and dissipation, all public business was suspended; the senate and courts of justice were closed, and all public schools had a vacation, a striking resemblance to our Christmas holidays. Master and servant sat at one table; every thing serious was laid aside; and people of all ranks relaxed themselves in jollity,‡ in imitation of the reign of Saturn, in the Golden Age, *Sweetieskon.* *Saturnalia*

* Jamieson, Etym. Dict. art. *Sweetieskon.*

† Feasts in honor of Saturn, at which little dolls or statues were presented by parents to their children, *Macrob. Lib.* I., *cap.* 10.

‡ Wachter derives this word as well as the French *joli*, from *jul*, yule. *Glossar. German. in voc. Jol.* The twelve days of Christmas are also among those times, which the Anglo-Saxons allotted to their free servants. *Hickes, Thesaur. Diss. Ep.* p. 100.

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when there were neither servants, sorrow nor labor. Such too were the *Kronia*, or Athenian Saturnalia:—

> "Maxima pars Graium Saturno, et maxime Athenæ,
> Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia esse iterantur ab illis:
> Cumque diem celebrant per agros, urbesque fore omnes
> Exercent epulas læti; famulosque procurant
> Quisque suos nostrique itidem: et mos traditus illinc
> Iste, ut cum dominis famuli tum epulentur ibidem."*

The connection of the original Saturnalitia, or gifts of honey, figs, laurel leaves, perfumes, and sweetmeats, with the rites of Saturn, points out clearly their source in the mysteries of the Cabiri. Honey was supposed by the ancients to be derived from the dews of heaven: thus Virgil:—

> Protenus aërii mellis cœlestia dona
> Exequar.†

Honey a symbol of Death.

It was used in the sacrifices to Bacchus and the nymphs; libations of honey and water were made in honor of the Erinnyes. According to Porphyry, honey was introduced into the mysteries as a symbol of death, on which account it was offered to the infernal gods.‡ This notion will account for the custom of embalming the dead with honey among the Chaldeans, who were deeply versed in the Cabiric orgies.§ For the same reason, the Egyptians, when upon solemn occasions, they sacrificed a cow to the great goddess, were accustomed to fill the stomach of the victim, deprived of its entrails, with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense and myrrh.‖ These substances, having acquired a sacred character from their use in religious rites,

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* Macrob. Lib. I., cap. 7.

† Georg. IV., 1.

‡ Vide infra, the account of the Mithratic Grotto, under St. Partrick's Day, March 17.

§ Herod. Lib. I., cap. 98. Faber, Vol. II., p. 365.

‖ Herod. Lib. II., cap. 40.

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Christmas.

eventually became pledges of love and friendship, and symbolical of good wishes; and this will account for the superstitious veneration, with which the Romans received these presents, in after times accompanied by prayers for welfare.*

For this season, in some places, candles are made of a particular kind; because the candle that is lighted on Christmas day, must be so large as to burn from the time of its ignition to the close of the day, otherwise it will portend evil to the family for the ensuing year. This custom has also been transmitted from the time of heathenism. In the Roman *Saturnalia*, which we have seen, were connected with the winter solstice, lights were used in worship of their deity, the father of the seasons and the source of warmth and light.† Hence, too, originated the custom of making presents of this kind. The poor were wont to present the rich with wax tapers; and *Yule Candles* are still in the north of Scotland, given by merchants to their stated customers.‡ Within these few years, children at the village schools in Lancashire, were required to bring each a mould candle before the *Parting* or separation for the Christmas holidays; grocers, in Leeds, have the Scottish custom, and the candle so given is there called a *Christmas Candle*. At the present time children in London are presented with miniature candles on Boxing Day. By many persons in Scotland who rigidly observe the superstitions of the season, the Yule Candle is suffered to burn out; by others it is extinguished and preserved "for luck."

Yule Candles.

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* Ovid. in init Fastor. "Primum anni incipientis diem lætis præcationibus, faustum ominarum," *Plin. Lib.* XXVIII. "Hinc Kalendas anni auspices, quibus mensium recursus aperitur, impertiendis Strenis dicavit antiquitas." *Symmach. Lib.* X., *Epist.* 20 *apud Salmuth, Lib. cit.*

† Saturnus ipse, qui auctor est temporum et ideo a Græcis, immutata litera Κρονος quasi Χρονος vocatur, quid aliud nisi Sol intelligendus est?" *Macrob. Lib.* I., *cap.* 22. Κρονος appears to be a Greek corruption of *Car-On* the solar orb. Faber.

‡ Jamieson, ubi suprà.

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Christmas. There are many other miscellaneous superstitions in relation to this period, of which two or three may be noticed. In the morning one person rises before the rest of the family, and prepares food for them, which must be eaten in bed. This frequently consists of cakes baked with eggs, and called *Care Cakes*. A bannock, or cake, in Scotland is baked for all in the house; and if any one of these cakes should break in the toasting, the person for whom it is baked, will not, it is supposed, see another Christmas; a part of this custom is evidently of early Catholic origin, being the remnant of that of baking cakes in honor of the Virgin's delivery. Du Cange mentions that *Calendar Loaves* were formerly presented to the priest of the parish at Christmas, which was thence corruptly called *Les Calenes.** For this custom the authority seems to have been derived from the Mosaiacal law;—"Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves, of two tenth deals: they are the first fruits unto the lord.† Among us the *Church Scot* of an early Saxon law seeme to be analagous: 'Church Scot' says Ina king of the West Saxons in 688, "shall be given at the roof and hearth where a man is at mid-winter.‡ This tax was paid in corn, whence it is named by an Anglo-Norman, Church seed.§ Some of

Care Cakes

Church Scot.

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* Gloss. Tom. V., col. 99.

† Levit. XXIII., 17.

‡ Cyniс ƿceat man ƿceal agyƿan to ðam healme [*al.* hælme] ⁊ to ðam heoɳðe. ðe ƿe man on bið to miƀƀum pintɳa.—*Cap.* 61. Be cyniс ƿceattum. It may be mentioned that the author of the article on first fruits, in Rees's Encyclopædia, cites this law as a proof that first fruits existed so early as the reign of Ina; but it is evident that he has been misled by the equivocal term "Primitiæ" in Wilkins's translation. The first fruits, of which he was treating, are a comparatively modern exaction of the first year's revenue of a benefice; but the Saxon Church Scot was a tribute to the Clergyman.

§ "Chercheseed, ou Chirceomer, ou Cherceamber, fuit un certein de blee batu, que chescun home devoit al temps dez Brytons et dez Englez porter a lour Eglise le jour seint Martin." *Wilkins, Gloss. ad Leges Saxonicas.* The

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these Care Cakes were preserved until Twelfth Night for the purpose of choosing the king of that season. Aubrey, in 1686 says "It was anciently the custom in Yorkshire, in the Christmas holidays, to dance in the church after prayers, crying or singing "Yole, Yole, Yole.*"

Were Wolves.

The ancient superstition respecting *Were-wolves*, the mutation of men into wolves at this season, is much too remarkable to be omitted. Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsal, and metropolitan of Sweden, relates in his History of the Goths, that at the festival of Christmas in the cold northern parts, there is a strange conversion of men into beasts; and that at a place previously fixed among themselves, there is a gathering of a huge multitude of wolves which have been changed from men, and which during that night, rage with such fierceness against mankind and other creatures not fierce by nature, that the inhabitants of the country suffer more hurt from them, than they ever do from natural wolves; for these human wolves attack houses, break down the doors in order that they may destroy the inmates, and descend into the cellars where they drink out whole tuns of beer or mead, leaving the empty vessels heaped one upon another. If any man afterwards comes to the place where they have met, and his cart overturn, or he fall down in the snow, it is believed that he will die that year. The author relates, that there is standing a wall of a certain castle that was destroyed, to which, at an appointed time, these unnatural wolves come and endeavour to leap over it; and that those wolves which cannot leap over the wall from fatness or otherwise, are whipped by their leaders: and, moreover, it is believed that among them

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second names Chirceomer and Chercamber, are one and the same; the termination ambeɲ, *amphora*, a certain measure, taking place of *seed*, or the thrashed corn, which, he says, every man in the time of the Britons and Angles was obliged to bring to his church on the day of St. Martin. For this change of the time from Christmas to Martinmas see *Ll. Cnut. cap.* 10. —*Constit. temp. Æthelred. &c.*

* Time's Telescope, 1826.

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are the great men and chief nobility of the land. This change of a natural man into a brute is effected by muttering certain words and drinking a cup of ale to a man-wolf, which, if he accept the same, renders the man-natural worthy of admission into the society of men-wolves. He may then change himself into the form of a wolf by going into a secret cellar, or private wood; and may put off his wolf's form and resume his own at pleasure.

The following instances, or anecdotes, are related in confirmation of this statement:—A certain nobleman, while on a journey through the woods was benighted and hungry; and it so fell out that among his servants were some who had this faculty of becoming wolves; one of these proposed that the rest should be quiet, while he withdrew, and that they should not be surprised to tumult by anything they saw in his absence; and, so saying, he went into a thick wood, and there privily transformed himself, and came out as a wolf, and fell fiercely on a flock of sheep, and caught one of them and brought it to his companions, who, knowing the bringer thereof, received it gratefully, and he returned into the wood as a wolf would, and came back again in his shape as the nobleman's servant.

Not many years since it happened in Livonia, that a nobleman's wife disputed with one of her servants, whether men could turn themselves into wolves, and the lady said they could not; but the servant said, with her permission, he would presently shew her an example of that business: and forthwith he went alone into the cellar, and presently after came forth in the form of a wolf; and the dogs hunted him through the fields into a wood, where he defended himself stoutly, but they bit out one of his eyes, and the next day he came with only one eye to his lady.

Lastly he says, that it is yet fresh in memory that the duke of Prussia, though he paid attention to stories of this kind, required a person, who was reputed to be skilled in this sorcery to give a proof of his art. The man accordingly transformed himself into a wolf; the duke was satis-

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fied, and caused the unlucky experimentalists to be burned for idolatry.*

Mentioning this superstition in an article in Blackwood's Magazine, I attributed its origin to the fable of Lycaon, in consequence Voltaire's lines,—

"Ces montagnes, ces bois qui bordent l'horison,
Sont couverts des métamorphoses:
Ce cerf aux pieds légers est le jeune Actéon,
L'ennemi des troupeaux est le roi Lycaon.†

But on reconsideration, it seems very probable, that the fables of Lycaon and of the were-wolf have a common origin, and not that one is the parent of the other. The superstition has no doubt, existed in every country, that has been infested by wolves; the *loup-garou, gar* signifying a man, is precisely the same as the Saxon pene pulf and the German *wür*, or *wehr wolff*, a man-wolf. Pomponius Mela says that the Scythians if they choose, can at a stated time change themselves into wolves, and at pleasure resume their own form;‡ and speaking of the virgins of the isle of Sena, whom he calls priestesses of a Gallic deity and oracle, he says, that they think to excite the sea and wind by their incantations, and to turn themselves into beasts.§ It, therefore, appears says Wachter, opposing an opinion that the men-wolves were only hypochondriacs, that this transformation, according to ancient belief was not a disease, but a free and voluntary act.‖ Pliny seriously declares that we may confidently consider it as false that men are changed to wolves and afterwards restored to their own shape, or we must believe all the fables transmitted to us from remote antiquity.¶

* Hist. Septent. Gent. Breviarum, Lib. XVIII., cap. 133.
† Apologie de la Fiction.
‡ Geogr. Lib. II. cap. 1.
§ Ibid. Lib. III., cap. 6.
‖ Glossar. Tom. II., col. 1881.
¶ Apud eundem, ubi etiam Pomp. Mela.

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Christmas.

Tacitus states that the people of the north in their worship of Bacchus and Cybele, disguise themselves like boars and other animals; and it seems that the priests of Mars, to whom the wolf was sacred, had a like custom of disguising themselves in the form of that animal, when at their devotions, which explains the expression of Pomponius Mela,—"Neuris statum singulis tempus est," and accounts for the were-wolf on the same principle as the julbok. The Teutonic *ghier-wolf*, is explained by Kilian to mean *heluo*; and *ger*, according to Olaus Magnus, denotes a greedy and voracious person, as if he were inhabited by Geri, the wolf of Odin, which, as is feigned in the Edda, feeds its lord with the flesh and blood of those who were slain in battle.

The Saxons applied the name were-wolf to the devil. A law of Canute having stated that the devil was ever on the watch to seize upon human souls, proceeds to recommend bishops and priests to protect and defend their godly herds with the doctrines of wisdom, lest the raging "were-wolf" tear them in pieces.*

The extravagance of this superstition goes for nothing, when we find described as actually existing in India, by a Saxon collector of accounts of impossible monsters, a nation of people, like men to the navel, the rest of the body like an ass, and the feet of those of a bird.†

Knecht Rupert.

In Germany the Christmas Box has been converted to a moral use;—"Formerly" says Coleridge, "and still in all the smaller towns and villages throughout North Germany, presents for their children were sent by all the parents to some one fellow, who in high buskins and an enormous flax wig, personates *Knecht Rupert*, i. e. the servant Robert. On Christmas night he goes round to every house, and says

* Dæt synðon Bircopas. ⁊ Wærsepneortas. þe gobcunðe heoniðian bepanian. ⁊ bepenian sceolan miþ pirlican lanan þ se poðspeca penepulf to spiþe ne slyte. *Par.* I., *cap.* 26.

† Bibl. MSS. Cott. Tiberius, B. V. fo. 82 b. The same account is contained in the MS. Vitellius, A. XV.

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that Jesus Christ his master, has sent him thither. The parents and older children receive him with great pomp and reverence, while the little ones are most terribly afraid. He then enquires for the children, and according to the character which he hears from the parents, he gives them the intended presents as if they came from heaven. Or, if they should have been bad children, he gives the parents a rod, and in the name of his master, recommends them to use it frequently. About seven or eight years old the children are let into the secret, and it is curious how faithfully they keep it."

The women of some places seem to have a particular aversion from spinning on this day, a superstition which strongly savours of paganism. Ovid affirms that Bacchus punished Alcithoe and her sister for presuming to spin during this festival. There is a singular passage in Jhone Hamilton's "Facile Treactise," quoted by Dr. Jamieson, which, while it affords a proof of the traditionary antipathy to spinning on Yule Day, also shows how zealous the Scottish reformers were against the observance of all festival days. After declaring the opposition of the "Caluinian Sect" to all "holy dayes," except "Sunday," he says,—"The ministers of Scotland, in contempt of the other halie dayes obseruit be England, cause thair wyfis and seruants to spin in oppin sicht of the people upon *Yeul* Day; and thair affectionat auditeurs constraine thair pleuchs on Yeul Day in contempt of Christ's Natiuitie, whilk our Lord hes not left vnpunisht: for thair oxin ran wod and brak thair nekis, and leamit sum pleughmen, as is notoriously knawin in sundrie parts of Scotland."*

The "Christmas block," mentioned in a preceding quotation, is the *Yule Log*, or *Yule Clog*, another superstition of this period: this is a large block or log of wood, laid on the fire on Christmas Eve, which, if possible, is kept burn- *Yule Log.*

* Etymol. Dict. art. *Yeul Day.*

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BOOK II.

Christmas.

ing all the following day or longer.* In some places, its self extinction is portentous of evil. A portion of the old log of the preceding year is sometimes saved to light up the new log at the next Christmas, to preserve the family from harm in the meanwhile: during the time that this log lasts, the servants in farm-houses, are entitled by custom to have ale at their meals. The Yule log was relighted on Candlemas Eve. This custom is beautifully noticed by our old poet Heyrick:†—

> "Kindle the Christmas Brand, and then
> Till sunne-set let it burne,
> Which quencht, then lay it up agen,
> Till Christmas next returne.
> Part must be kept, wherewith to teend
> The Christmas Log next yeare;
> And where 'tis safely kept, the fiend
> Can do no mischiefe there."

Abbot, or Lord of Misrule.

Ben Jonson has given a curious epitome of the revels of this period, in his "Masque of Christmas," where he has personified the season and its attributes. The characters introduced are *Misrule, Carol, Mince Pie, Gamboll, Post and Pair, Mumming, New Year's Gift, Wassell Offerings, and Babie Coche.* The society of Lincoln's Inn had anciently an officer chosen at this season, who was honored with the title of *King of Christmas*, because he presided at the hall on that day.‡ Analogous to this functionary was the *Princeps Natalicii* of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1559, and the imperial *Præfectus Ludorum* of Cambridge.§ The Lord of Misrule, whose domination extended over the greater part of the holidays, is particularly noticed by foreign writers, who consider him as a personage rarely to

* In the bishopric of Metz, "la Souche de Noel," or Yule log, which the villagers put upon their fires, on Christmas eve, is called *Treffun*, that is *ter focus*, says the Benedictine of St. Vannes, because it should last as long as three ordinary faggots.

† On Christmas Eve.

‡ Strutt, Glig Gamena, B. IV., ch. 3., s. 5.

§ Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. II., p. 378, 380.

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be encountered, out of England.* In some great families, and sometimes at court, this officer was also called the *abbot of Misrule,* corresponding with the French *Abbé de Liesse,* a word which implies merriment.† Leland, the antiquary, speaking of the year, 4 Henry VII. A.D. 1489 says; "This Christmas I saw no disguysings, and but right few playes; but there was an abbot of misrule that made much sport and did right well his office.‡ Large sums of money were expended by Henry the Seventh upon these masquerades and sports, as the following extracts from his "Privy Purse Expenses" will evince:

"Dec. 24, (1491). To Ringley, lorde of mysrewle, upon a prest, £5."
"Oct. 24, (1492). To Ringeley, abbot of mysreule, £5.
"Jan. 2, (1494). For playing of the Mourice daunce, £2.
"——15, ——— To Walter Alwyn in full payment for the disguysing made at Christenmas, £14 13 4.
"Mar. 3, (1490). To Jacques Haulte in full payment for the disguysing at Christenmas, £32 18 6¼.
"Jan. 2, (1503). To thabbot of mysrule in rewarde, £6 13 4.
"Feb. 12, —— To Lewis Adams that made disguysings, £10."§

The lord or abbot of misrule at court, was usually a writer of interludes and plays and the office was frequently held by a poet of some reputation; such was George Ferrers, "in whose pastimes Edward the Sixth had great delight.‖ Stowe says, "This pageant potentate began his rule at Hallow Eve, and continued the same till the morrow after the feast of the Purification.¶ In Scotland the mock dignitary of the church was called the abbot of Unressoun, or Unreason, and was unfrocked by act of Parliament in 1555. Polydore Vergil mentions another singu-

* Polyd. Vergil. de Rerum. Invent. Lib. V. cap. 2. Strutt, Introd. s. xxx., B. IV. ch. 3., s. I. Warton, &c.
† Du Cange. voc. *Abbas Lætitiæ.* Tom. I., p. 7.
‡ Collectanea de Rebus Anglicis, Tom. III., Append. p. 256., Ed. 1770.
§ Excerpta Historica, p. 88., 92, 95, 96, 129, 130.
‖ Warton, Ibid. Vol. III., p. 293.
¶ Survey of London, p. 79.

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larity belonging to the English, who celebrated the festivities of christmas with plays, masques and magnificent spectacles, together with games at dice and dancing, which practice, he tells us, was as ancient as the year 1170, and not customary with other nations. In the 24*th* year of the reign of Henry III, the council at Worcester prohibited the clergy from playing at dice, and "Ludos fieri de Rege et Regina," at *games of king and queen*, which Strutt supposes to mean chess at that time.* In the 11th of Henry VIII, cards and dice are expressly forbidden to apprentices, except during the Christmas holidays, and then only in their masters' houses. In the reign of queen Elizabeth "few men plaiyed at cardes but at Christmasse, and then almost all men and boys."†

St. Stephen.

St. Stephen's Day, December 26, for some unexplained cause, was a great period with our ancestors, for bleeding their horses, which was practised by people of all ranks, and recommended by the old agricultural poet, Tusser, who adds:—

> "The day of St. Stephen old fathers did use;
> If that do mislike thee, some other day use."‡

Mr. Douce, states that it is a very ancient practice, introduced into this country by the Danes. Naogeorgus, according to his translator Barnabe George, refers to it, and assigns a reason:—

> Then followeth Saint Stephen's day, whereon doth every man
> His horses jaunt, and course abrode as swiftly as he can,
> Until they do extremely sweate, and then they let them blood;
> For this being done upon this day, they say doth do them good,
> And keepe them from all maladies and sicknesse through the yeare,
> As if that Stephen any time tooke charge of horses here."

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* Strut, Introd. s. 60.

† Camden's Remains, p. 378. It is also named *Christis Masse*, *Festum Natalis Domini*, *Natale* or *Nativitas Domini*, *Mydwynters Mass Day*, *Natalicium Domini* or *Christi*, and *Nativitas Dominica*.

‡ Five Hundred Points of Husbandry, ch. xxii. st. 16.

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In explanation, it may be stated, that the Saint was the patron of horses, and that on this day, which the Germans call *Der grosse Pferds Tag*, the pope's stud was physicked and bled for the sake of the blood, which was supposed to be a remedy in many disorders.*

Childermas.

St. Stephen's day was formerly observed at Cambridge: Slicer, a character in the old play of the "Ordinary," says,

> "Let the Corporal
> Come sweating under a breast of mutton, stuffed
> With Pudding."

St. Stephen's Pudding.

"This" says the annotator, "was called a *St. Stephen's Pudding*: it used formerly to be provided at St. John's College, Cambridge, uniformly on St. Stephen's day."†

In the North Riding of Yorkshire, "on the feast of St. Stephen, large goose pies are made, all of which they distribute among their needy neighbours, except one, that is carefully laid up and not tasted till the Purification of the Virgin called Candlemas.‡

The *Holy Innocents*, or *Childermas Day*,§ December 28, commemorates the slaughter of the Jewish children by Herod; and it is remarked by Macrobius that the savage order was so promptly executed, that one of the tyrant's sons, then at nurse, fell a sacrifice with the other children, on which Augustus was reported to have said, that it was better to be Herod's hog than his son.‖ It hath beene a custom says Gregorie, "and yet is elsewhere to whip up the children upon Innocent's Day morning, that the memorie of this murther might stick the closer, and, in a moderate proportion, to act over the cruelty again inkind."

* Haltaus, Cal. Med. Ævii, p. 144.

† Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. X., p. 229.

‡ Gent. Mag. 1811.

§ *Festum Sanctorum Innocentium.*

‖ "Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium." *Macrob. Saturn. Lib.* II. *cap.* 4. D. Strauchius states that this is the only profane writer who mentions the murder of the children by Herod; and as to the saying of Augustus, he quotes Isaac Vossius, (Chron. Sac. p. 159) who refers it only to Herod's own children; and others chiefly to the murder of his son Antipater. *Strauch. Brev. Chronol.* IV., *c.* 36.

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Hospinian, referring to this strange custom, says that the reason was not only that the children might remember this most barbarous butchery, but at the same time learn that with Christ were born hatred, persecution, the cross, exile and poverty.* It is impossible to proceed without noticing the epigram of the witty Owen, who, whether he were serious or not, has fairly established the right of the holy Innocents to the honor of the proto-martyrdom:—

"*Proto-Martyres, Innocentes.*
"Christi Pueri sunt passi extrema, priusquam
Christus pro Pueris, ultima passus erat."†

Childermas was formerly a day of unlucky omen, of which a very remarkable instance occurs in the Paston Letters, where it is stated, that the coronation of Edward the Fourth was deferred from Sunday to Monday, because the former was Childermas day:—"Maist^r Brakle shall p'che at Poules on Sunday next comyng as he tolde me that for cause childermesse day fal on y^e Sunday the coronac'on shal [be] on the Moneday.‡ An apprehension is still entertained by the superstitions, that no undertaking can prosper which is begun on that day of the week, on which Childermas last fell. Though the Saxons were very superstitious observers of days, they seem not to have included this in their ample kalendar of evil days; for on Childermas Day, Edward, the Confessor, laid the foundation of St. Peter's, Westminster.§

King of Cockneys.

Besides the king of Christmas, already noticed, the sages of Lincoln's Inn had another officer, elected on Childermas day, and denominated the *King of the Cockneys* who pre-

* "Hujus laniense truculentissimæ ut pueri Christianorum recordentur et simul discant odium, persecutionem, crucem, exilium, egestatemque statim cum nato Christo incipere, virgis cædi solent in aurora hujus diei adhuc in lectulis jacentes a parentibus suis."

† Epigram. Joh. Audoeni Cambro-Brit. Lib. IV., Ep. 151.

‡ Vol. I., p. 234. The date of the Letter is "Sunday tofore mydsom'", 1461.

§ Chron. Saxon. An. 1065.

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sided on the day of his appointment and had his inferior officers to wait upon him.* Sir William Dugdale quotes an order from Henry VIII. in 1517, for the regulation of the amusements of this society, which among other injunctions contained the following, "that the King of Cockneys, on Childermas Day, should sit and have due service, and that he and all his officers should use honest manner and good order, without any waste or destruction making in wine brawn, chely, or other vitails: and also, that he, and his marshal, butler, and constable marshall should have their lawful and honest commandments by delivery of the officers of Christmas, and that the said King of Cockneys, ne none of his officers medyl neither in the butlery, nor in the stuard of Christmas his office, upon pain of 40s for every such medling; and lastly that *Jack Straw*, and all his adherents should be thenceforth banisht, and ne more be used in this house, upon pain to forfeit for every time five pounds, to be levied upon every fellow haping to offend against this rule."†

St. Thomas

JackStraw

St. Thomas a Becket's Day, December 29, presents no peculiarity, but is mentioned here on account of an ancient story, which shows that even saints have not enjoyed immunity from the tongue of slander: "Holye Thomas Becket" says Bayle, who was little inclined to favour a dignitary of the Roman Catholic church, "would sumtyme for his pleasure make a journeye of pylgrymage to the prymerose peerlesse of Stafforde, as his holy lyfe mentyoneth. He that shall narrowlie serche saynte Hieromes epistles, shall fynde him sumwhat famylyar with Marcella. So shall he fynde saynt Gregorye with Domicella, and also saynt Bonifacius the archebisshop of Magunce with Tecla and Lieba ii englysshe women of his owne countre natyve.‡

New Year's Day, December 31, we learn from Dr.

New Year's Day.

* Strutt, B. IV., ch. 3., s. 10.

† Origines Juridicales, 247.

‡ Mysterye of Inyquyte, M. D. xlii. Emprynted at Geneva, 1545.

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BOOK II.

New Year's Day.

Mumming.

Drake,* was spent among our laboring ancestors in festivity and frolic, and the young women carried from door to door a bowl of spiced ale.† Young men and women also exchanged clothes, which was termed *mumming* or *disguising*; and when thus dressed in each other's garments, they went from cottage to cottage, singing, dancing and partaking of good cheer. In the north of England, and particularly Northumberland, as well as in Scotland, this day is known by the name of *Hogmany*, or *Hogmenay*. This term is also transferred to the entertainment given to a visitor on New Year's Eve, or to a gift conferred on those, who apply for it, according to ancient custom:—

"The cotter weanies, glad an' gay
We' 'pocks out oure their shouther
Sing at their doors for Hogmanay.‡

Dr. Jamieson has given an interesting extract regarding this ceremony, from a fugitive piece in the Caledonian Mercury for 1792, on which a note or two will be appended.

Hogmanay Trololay.

"The cry of *Hogmanay Trololay* is of usage immemorial in this country. It is well known that the ancient Druids went into the woods with great solemnity on the last night of the year, where they cut the misleto of the oak with a golden bill, and brought it into the towns, and the country houses of the great next morning,§ where it was distributed among the people, who wore it as an amulet to preserve

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* Shakspeare and his Times.

† The Wassail Bowl, suprà. p. 99.

‡ Nicol's Poems, Vol. I., p. 27. Jamieson.

§ On this subject we may subjoin to the above, that Camden, at the commencement of his Britannia, p. 13., Edit. 15, 90, ascribes the following verse to Ovid, in whose works, however, Keysler, *Antiq. Septent. p.* 306. observes, it is no where to be found:

"Ad viscum Druidæ, Druidæ clamare solebant."

Pliny's account of the ceremony is that, "As the misletoe is seldom to be met with, when found it is fetched with great ceremony, and by all means on the sixth day of the moon, which with them begins the months and

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them from all harms, and particularly from the danger of battle. When Christianity was introduced among the barbarous Celtæ and Gauls, it is probable that the clergy, when they could completely abolish the Pagan rites would endeavour to give them a Christian turn. We have abundant instances of this in the ceremonies of the Romish church. Accordingly this seems to have been done in the present instance; for about the middle of the sixteenth century, many complaints were made to the Gallic synod of great excesses which were committed on the last night of the year, and on the first of January, during the *Fête des Fous*, by companies of both sexes, dressed in fantastic habits, who ran about with their Christmas Boxes, called *Tire Lire*, begging for the lady in the straw both money and wassels. These beggars were called *Bachelettes*,* Guisards, and their chief *Rollet Follet*. They came into the churches during the services of the vigils, and disturbed the devotions by their cries of *Au gui menez*; *tiri liri, mainte du blanc et point du bis*. Thiers, Hist. des Fêtes et

New Year's Day.

Guisards.

Rollet Follet.

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years, and the period of thirty years they term an age; for at that season the moon has sufficient influence, and is above half full. They call this plant in their language *All Heal*. The priest habited in white, mounts the tree and with a golden hook cuts the misletoe which is received in a white cloth." *Lib.* XVI., *cap.* 44.

The learning and genius of Camden have given currency to a notion that the Druids derived their name from δρυς, an oak, because they frequented groves. It is merely given by him as a conjecture, "Quocunque nomine, hi suis Celtis, et Britannis innotuerint, mihi persuasum est hoc Druidum nomen a Græco fonte scilicet Δρυς, i. robur sive quercus, profluxisse, non solum quod viscus e robore nihil illis fuerit sacratius." *Loc. cit.* To admit this we must believe that the British and Gallic Druids spoke Greek. Borel on the contrary supposes that the Greek word comes from the old British *dru* or *derw*, an oak, Gorop. Beanus takes it to be the old Celtic and German *trowes* or *truwis*, and to mean a doctor of the truth and the faith. In Celtic, *Tru*, joined to *Wis*, signifies a *wise man*, and appears to have relation to the Turkish term *Dervis*. Voyez *Journ. Britann. Tom.* XV., *p.* 396.

* We shall have occasion to offer some circumstances, that render it probable that part of these ceremonies sprang from the orgies of Bacchus, to which this name bears a manifest reference.

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des Jeux. At last in 1598, at the representation of the bishop of Augres, a stop was put to their coming into churches; but they became more licentious, running about the country, and frightening the people in their houses, so that the legislature was obliged to put a final stop to the Fête des Fous in 1668. The resemblance of the above cry to our *Hogmanay Trololay, give us your white bread and none of your grey*; and the name *Guisards* given to our Bacchanals, are remarkable circumstances; and our former connections with France, render it not improbable that these festivities were taken from thence; and this seems to

Daft Days

be confirmed by our name of *Daft Days*, which is nearly a translation of *Fête des Fous*. It deserves to be noticed that the bishop of Augres says, that the cry, *Au gui menez, Rollet Follet*, was derived from the ancient Druids, who went out to cut the *gui* or *misletoe*, shouting and hollaing all the way, *Au gui l'an neuf, le Roi vient.** Now although we must not suppose that the Druids spoke French we can easily allow the cry to have been changed with the language, whilst the custom was continued. If the word *Gui* should be Celtic or Scandinavian, it would add force to the above conjecture.† Perhaps, too, the word *Rollet* is a corruption of the ancient Norman invocation of their

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* The boys in some parts of France still run about the streets on the first of January begging, and singing "Au guy l'an neuf, Au guy Gaulois." *Keysler, p.* 395. In Germany they cry about the streets at Christmas, *Gut hyl, Gut hyl*, which some suppose refers to the Christian Salvation, but Keysler, *Antiq. Septent.* p. 307, finds in it Pliny's *All Heal.* See Gough's Camden, Vol. I., p. lvii., note q. *Gut Heil* is in fact, good safety, welfare or preservation.

† A writer in the N. American Quarterly Review, thinks that the word *Gui* is of Celtic origin, because in all the dialects of that language, *Gui* in some form or other signifies trees. In Celtic, *Guez* is trees; *Guezecq* and *Guczennecq*, a place abounding in trees. In the Armoric, or Bas Breton *Guezen* is a tree, *Gues*, trees; *Guetzennic*, shrubs; while in the Welsh, *Guid* is a tree; and *Guidhele*, bushes. The last is not very different from the German cry of "*Gut Hyl*," which is undoubtedly Pliny's *All Heal.*

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hero, Rollo.* But where is this invocation found? To me it seems to be no other than *Roitelet Follet*, slightly changed into *Rollet Follet* (just as *rotulus* becomes rôlet, whence rôle, a character in a play, from the roll on which the part was written) a vagrant petty king; or, if for *le Roi vient*, the populace read *le roi voila*, we may have Rollet Follet in another way.

Of the Scottish "Bacchanals" named in the preceding extract, Warton says, "Mummeries, which they call *Gysarts*, composed of moral personifications are still known in Scotland: and even till the beginning of this century, especially among the festivities of Christmas, itinerent maskers were admitted into the houses of the Scotch nobility.†

In England, it is still a custom to hang up a bunch of misletoe on Christmas Day, under which the young men salute their sweethearts. This, as before observed, is an evident relic of Druidism, as well as that of adorning churches with it, or with holly and other evergreens; and both customs may be viewed as a traditionary vestige of its consecration in the worship of the ancient Britons.

In an "Inquiry into the ancient Greek Game, supposed to have been invented by Palamedes," Mr. Christie speaks of the respect which the northern nations entertained for the misletoe, and of the Celts and Goths being distinct in the instance of their equally venerating the misletoe about the time of the year, when the sun approached the winter solstice. He adds, "We find by the allusion in Virgil, who compared the *golden bough in infernis* to the misletoe, that the age of the plant was not unknown in the religious ceremonies of the ancients, particularly the Greeks, of whose poets he was the acknowledged imitator."‡

* Dr. Jamieson, in his Supplement, observes that "the cry of, *Trololay*, has been resolved into *Trois Rois là*," and, if this be correct, it would appear to bear an allusion to the Three Kings of the Epiphany, and is another instance of the blending of Christianity with pagan superstitions, so common in popular customes and ceremonies.

† Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. II., p. 279.—Dr. Jamieson supposes that the Scottish term is derived from the Teutonic *Guyse*, a scoff.

‡ The passage to which Mr. Christie alludes, is Æn. VI. 205.

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New Year's Day.

Mumming.

The practice of *Mumming*, so called from the Dutch *momme*, a mask, otherwise named *Guising*, or *Disguising*, lasted throughout the time of Christmas. Thomas Walsingham records a memorable instance of its existence among our ancient nobility, where it formed a part of a treasonable plot, which the earls of Salisbury, Huntingdon and Kent, contrived against the life of Henry the Fourth, in 1400. They came to Windsor Castle, on the Sunday next before the feast of the Circumcision, in the disguise of mummers or Christmas players; but being detected, they fled to Cirencester, where, after some resistance, they were seized and decapitated by the inhabitants.* Strutt has given, from a manuscript of the age of Edward the Third, representations of mummers: with works, framed like the heads of bulls, stags and goats.† The mummings and disguisings of the Goths, during the winter solstice, were of the same ludicrous description. Of the latter, the once popular game of *Blindman's Buff* is with great probability supposed to be a relic. Loccenius speaks as if *Blinde-Bok*, or blindman's buff, had been the same as the *Julbok*, the goat or stag of Yule, in the time of paganism.‡ The game was not unknown to the Greeks. They called it Κολλαβισμος, from Κολλαβιζω, *impingo*; and it is defined "Ludi genus, quo hic quidam manibus expansis oculos suos tegit, alius vero postquam percussit, quærit num verberarit.§

Blind-man's Buff.

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* Hist. p. 401., n. 30. Vide etiam. Thom. Otterbourne Chron. Tom. I., p. 224.

† Glig Gamena, Pl. XVI.

‡ Antiq. Sueo-Goth. p. 23. Jamieson.—The Germans, by their name, *Die Blinde Kuh*, have identified their game with that of the Swedish Blinde-Bok. See Jamieson's quotation from Wachter, and Ihre's answer to his objection.

§ Robertson's Thesaur. Græcæ Linguæ, v. κολλαβιζω.—Mr. Strutt gives a representation of this game in his Glig Gamena. Pl. xxxiv, and an account of it under the name of *Hoodman Blind*, B. IV., ch. 4., sect. 11. He erroneously says that it was called Μυια χαλκι; but Pollux defines the χαλκισμος thus, "Ludus in quo ludebant chalcis, aut alio numismate, quidam fuisse dicunt ludi genus, quo nummum raptim circumagendo, digito impositum, excutiebant pueri, et priusquam humi caderet, excipiebant recto

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It was also used by the Romans.* Verelius supposes that the Ostrogoths had introduced this game into Italy, where it is now called *Giuoco della Cieca*, a name not unlike in sound the old Scottish term *Chacke* Blyndman.† Rudbeck not only asserts that this sport is still universal among the northern nations, but supposes that it was transmitted from the worship of Bacchus, who is pointed out by the name of *Bocke*, and he considers the hood-winking and other ceremonies in this game as a memorial of the Bacchanalian orgies.‡ Pezronius entertains the same opinion.§ The Cabiric origin of the Julbok and its imitations derives corroboration from Tacitus, who says that the Æstui, (the Estum of Wulfstan, in King Alfred's Orosius) a nation bordering on the Suevi, worshipped the mother of the Gods, and, a mark of their superstition, they wore in adoration, the forms of boars.‖ The resemblance between the orgies of Bacchus and the rites of Ceres, and the Phrygian Cybele is noticed by Strabo, who also observes that the poets and mythologists continually conjoined the Curetic and Bacchanalian orgies and the rites of Cybele.¶ Hence it is not remarkable that we now find a similar intermixture imported from the East by the Goths. It is also observable that, according to general Vallancey, the ancient Irish worshipped the god of wine under his identical name "*Ce-Bac-*

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digito." *Poll. 6. et. Eust. referente Robertson, Lib. cit. in v.* χαλκιδιζειν. The Μυια χαλκι was, therefore, not much unlike our *Pitch and Toss.*

* Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Belly Blind.*

† "*Chack*, to clack or make a clicking noise; to cut or bruise by a sudden stroke." Jamieson, Ibid. art. *Chacke* and *Chacke Blyndman.*

‡ Atlant. Tom. II., p. 306. Jamieson, Suppl. art. Belly Blynde.

§ Speaking of the *Bock*, he says, "Bacchus a familia haud alienus censeri potest. Nam hoc prostibulum deorum sæpe vehitur hirco, et comites habet Faunos, Satyrosque, &c. Nomina autem deorum sæpe formari solent ab animalibus, quibus pro vehiculo utuntur, ut Hermes ab ariete, Artemis a cerva, &c." *Antiq. Celtic. p. 344, apud Wachter et Ihre.*

‖ De Moribus Germ. cap. 45.

¶ Geogr. Lib. X.

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BOOK II.

New Year's Day.

che, or the illustrious Bacchus.* If this explanation may be admitted, the mummings, disguisings and guisards, and particularly the game of blindman's buff, are a traditionary representation of the dilaceration of Bacchus by the Titans,† and may be considered as actual relics of those orgies. The French, it may be remarked, connect the game with Nicholas, "*Colin-maillard.*"

Boggart.

From the Gothic celebration of these rites is perhaps to be deduced the Lancashire *Boggart*, the name of an undefined sprite, which has communicated its appellation to Boggard Hole, in Pendle Forest, the scene of pseudo-witchcraft.‡ The boggart is the terror of children; and when a horse takes fright at some object, unobserved by its master, the vulgar opinion is that it has "seen th' boggart." Originally the strange disguises worn by the principal mummer, the representative of the *Bock* of Yule, have given rise to the superstition respecting a terrible sprite, the *Bocker*, which becomes in the provincialism of Lancashire, the boggart. It is observable that the Russian boars denominate an object of nocturnal terror, *Buka*, and frighten their children by saying, "Buka will eat you." *Baka* was the name of a celebrated spirit among the Hindoos; in old Teutonic, *Bokene* is a phantasm or spectre, and *Boukie* is a hobgoblin in Scotland.§ Lye, however, derives the name from the British *Bugul*, fear; whence bull-beggar, which

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* Collect. de Reb. Hibern. Vol. V., p. 3.

† Phorn. de Nat. Deorum, cap. 30.

‡ Harl. MSS. Codex 6854, fo., 26 b.

§ In Armorican or Bas-Breton, which is nearly the same as the Welsh, *Buguel-Nos* is, literally, a child of the night, a phantom; and *Bughel Nos* in Celtic, a hobgoblin, spectre, or scare-crow. The Irish call sprites or hobgoblins, *Bocain* and *Puighspiradh*. *Puka* in Irish is a spirit that walks by night. *Puki*, in Icelandic, is an evil spirit; and to these may be added our Puck, who is sometimes confounded with the hobgoblin, Robin Goodfellow.

Puck.

"Ne let housefires nor lightenings helpless harms,
Ne let the *pouke nor other evil sprites*,

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has nearly both sounds.* "And they have made us so afraid," says Reginald Scot, "with bull-beggars, spirits, witches, urchins, elves, hogs, fairies, &c., that we are afraid of our own shadows.† It has already been noticed that the frightful superstition of the were-wolf is supposed to originate from the dresses of the priests of Mars in the wolf skins.

New Year's Eve.

Mummers and maskers were finally suppressed by a statute in the reign of Henry the Eighth, which awarded against them an imprisonment of three months, and a fine at the discretion of the justices;‡ so that in England, the game of blindman's buff, and probably the modern entertainment of the masquerade, are the only relics of the Bock of Yule.

New Year's Day,§ the feast of the Circumcision, has its peculiar superstitions. Among the Strathdown highlanders, early in the morning, the *Usque Cashrichd*, or water drawn from the *Dead and Living Ford* without suffering the vessel to touch the ground, is drunk as a potent charm against the spells of witchcraft, the malignity of evil eyes, and the activity of all infernal agency. A similar superstition prevails in the south of Scotland, where the instant

Usque Cashrichd.

Dead and Living Ford.

Ne let mischievus witches with their charms,
Ne let hob-goblins, names whose sense we see not,
Fray us with things that be not."

Spenser's Epithalamium.

See Mr. Keightley's remarks on Puck, *Fairy Mythology*, *Vol.* II., p. 118-120. Puck long inhabited the Grey Friary at Schweren in Mecklenburgh, and one of the monks became his biographer in his Veredica Relatio de Demonio Puck." In the Quarterly Review, Vol. XXII., p. 359, 360, is a collection of other words resembling Puck in sound and sense, which those should consult who are interested in the derivation, and disapprove of Rudbeck's hypothesis.

* Jamieson, Supplem. art. *Boukie.*

† Discoverie of Witchcraft.

‡ Stat. 3., Hen. 8., cap. 5.

§ See *Caput Anni; Festum Circumcisionis; Le Jour de l'An; Kalenda Circumcisionis. Year's Day.*

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the clock has struck the midnight hour, one of a family goes to the well as quickly as possible, and carefully skims it; this they call, getting the scum or ream [cream] of the well:—

Flower of the Well.

"Twall struck—twa neebour hizzies raise
An' liltin gaed a sad gate;
The flower o' the well to our house gaes
An' I'll the bonniest lad get."*

This *Flower of the Well* signifies the first pail of water, and the girl who is so fortunate as to obtain the prize, is supposed to have more than a double chance of obtaining the most accomplished young man in the parish. The condition of drawing the *Usque Cashrichd* is analagous to skimming the well. It is an old superstition, and is probably derived from the worship of wells by the Picts, and the Druids, as we learn by a law of Canute the great, which prohibited this adoration.† But this should be rather understood of the people than of the priests, who were accustomed to divine the future by circles formed on the surface of agitated water, which, however, may in the days of Canute, have degenerated into a more idolatrous rite. Dr. Borlase tells us, that the inhabitants of Cornwall, in his time, used to repair on a particular day to the borders of a celebrated fountain, into which they cast pins or pebbles, and observing the circles which they formed, and whether the water were troubled or preserved its transparence, they drew inferences with respect to future events. To this I will add, that I have frequently seen the bottom of St. Helen's Well, near Sefton in Lancashire, almost covered with pins, which, I suppose, must have been thrown in for the like purposes. The act of skimming the water with the hand among the Romans, was one of the rites ne-

Worship of Wells and Springs.

* Stewart, Popular Superst. of the Highlands.

† It is heathenish, he says, to worship idols, that is, to worship heathen Gods, and the sun or moon, fire or flood-water, wells (pyllar, also *torrents*) or stones or any kind of trees. *Ll. Canut. p.* ii. *cap.* 5.

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cessary for successful augury; and their adoration of the nymphs and genii of fountains would appear, were other proofs wanting, from a beautiful votive altar, discovered in 1822 near Chester, which had been consecrated to those imaginary beings by the Twentieth or Victorious Legion, with this inscription,

New Year's Day.

NYMPHIS
ET
FONTIBVS
LEG XX
VV

which may, perhaps, be read *Nymphis et Fontibus Legione vicesima victrici valente.*

It has already been observed, in speaking of Boxing Day, that the salutations as well as the presents of this season are of remote antiquity. Mr. Fosbrooke notices from Count Caylus, a piece of Roman pottery with an inscription wishing "a happy new year to you," and another, in which a person wishes it to himself and son; and three medallions with the laurel leaf, fig and date,* which, at the time of coining the medallion, had probably become merely emblems of the *Strenæ*, or new year's gifts.

The origin of the presents made during the *Saturnalia* has been shown; but the *Strenæ* are said to have been introduced by Tatius, the Sabine, who first took sprigs from the plant vervain in the sacred grove of *Strenia*,† as auspices of the new year. From the Sabines the custom of

New Year's Gifts.

* Encyclop. Antiq. art. *New Years Gifts.*

† This goddess was probably no other than Astronoe, Asteria and Astarte, the mother of the seven Titanides. Vide Faber, Vol. I., p. 80. p. 103., Vol. II., p. 326. If so, there is no real difference between the *Strenæ* and the *Saturnalitia.*

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New Year's Day.

sending these Strenæ was transferred to the Romans,* who changed the day of sending them no fewer than seven different times.† At length the emperor Leo abolished them, and the fathers of the Church denounced them as profane,‡ and afterwards proclaimed, in full synod, that it was unlawful to observe these devilish new years gifts, "strenicas diabolicas observare."§

Neither the enactments of the secular power, nor the fulminations of the church have been able to prevail against this deeply rooted custom; and it has been estimated that the amount expended upon bon-bons and sweetmeats alone for presents on New Year's Day in Paris, exceeds £20,000 sterling. A recent tourist, speaking of Vienna, says:— "Among the numerous days devoted to public amusement in this gay metropolis, there is none more distinguished for joy and mirth than New Year's Day; and the stranger who wishes to behold the imperial town in all its splendour, should station himself in the Burg-Platz, or in the Hof-Kapelle; he would then see the whole court in full dress, the military in their superb uniform, and he would hear the compliments of the season exchanged by the entire population from the emperor to the peasant. The higher classes, after having paid their respects to the emperor exchange visits, and leave pretty, ornamented cards, made expressly for the occasion, sometimes exhibiting very exquisite paintings: some of these little baubles cost from eight to ten pounds sterling. The evening concludes with waltzing in the salons of the emperor, waltzing in the salons of the nobility, and waltzing in the salons of the cabarets; for, on this day, the whole of the dependent classes, servants, &c. receive a gratuity from their employers.‖

In Germany.

* "Tatius Sabinus verbenas felicis arboris ex luco Strenuæ [*Strenuæ*] anni novi Auspices, primus recepit."—*Mart. Lipenii Strenarum Hist.* Æt. II., sect. 7 et 8.

† Ibid. sect. 31. ‡ Ibid. Æt. III., sect. 44.

§ Ibid. sect. 15 and 27.

‖ Sketches of Germany and the Germans in 1834, 1835 and 1836. Vol. II, p. 161, 162.

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New Year's Day.

In England many persons make a point of wearing new clothes on this day, and consider any omission of the kind unlucky. At court it is one of the twelve *Offering Days.* The new years gifts of our monarchs, having frequently been published, are well known. The following from the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Seventh are exceptions:—

"Jan. 4, (1495) Delivered in newyeryests by the King commandement, £120 March 6, (1499) To Mathew Johns for a *childe* that was geven to the King upon newyeresday, 1s. 8d."*

Goose Tenure.

A singular customary tenure is mentioned by Dr. Plot; the lord of Essington was bound to drive a goose three times every New Year's Day round the hall fire of the lord of Hilton.† From the specimen of a Saxon manuscript, inserted by Dr. Hickes in his Catalogue, it appears that the Saxons predicted the quality of the season from such a coincidence as the following;—If the kalends or first of January, fall on the Lord's Day, then will the winter be good, pleasant and warm.‡ A Saxon manuscript in the Cotton Library, has some considerations on the Kalends of January for every day in the week, of which the following is a literal translation:—

Saxon Superstitions.

"If the Kalends of January be on the Moon's day, then there will be a severe and confused winter, a good spring, windy summer, and a rueful year, in which there will be men sick of diseases.—If the Kalends fall on Tiwesday then the winter will be dreary and severe; a windy lent and rainy summer, and many women will die; ships will travel in danger, and kings and princes will die.—If on Woden's day the Kalends fall there will be a hard winter and bad spring; but a good summer. The fruits of the earth will be much beaten down, honey will be scarce, and young men will die.—If the Kalends fall on Thunres day, there

* Excerpta Historica, p. 100, 121.

† Hist. Stafford, ch. X.

‡ Thesaur. Tom. II., p. 194.

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will be a good winter, windy spring, good summer, and abundance of the fruits of the earth, and the plough will be over the earth; but however, sheep and children will die.—If the Kalends fall on Frige day there will be a variable winter, good spring and good summer, with great abundance; and sheep's eyes will be tender in the year. —If the Kalends fall on Sætern's day, there will be a snowy winter, blowing spring, and rainy summer; earth fruits will labour, sheep perish, old men die, and other men be sick; the eyes of many will be tender, and fires will be prevalent in the course of the year.—If the Kalends fall on the Sun's day, there will be a good winter, windy spring, and dry summer; and a very good year will this year be; sheep will increase, there will be much honey, and plenty and peace will be upon the earth.*

Eve of the Epiphany

The *Eve* or *Vigil of the Epiphany*, Jan. 5, ought to be called, instead of the Epiphany itself, the *Twelfth Day*, according to the author of an ancient manuscript homily. "De Epiphania Domini n'ri Jhu X_{ri}," who says "Thys day is called the xij^te^ day; but in trewthe it is the xiij day of Cristemas; whiche day holy Cherche callethe the Epiphani, &c."† It was anciently denominated *Theophania*, or the manifestation of God, January 6,‡ and was attended

Epiphany.

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* Bibl. Cott. MSS. Tiberius, A. III. fo. 39 b. and 40.

† Harl. MSS. Codex 2247, fo. 28.—The name of Twelfth Day, as applied to the Epiphany, however is very ancient. 'Five days after the first of January,' says a Saxon Menologium, or poetical Kalendar, 'comes to us the baptismal time of our eternal lord, which the flourishing, great and noble people of Britain call Twelfth Day:'—

An ðæs ymbe fif niht,	Ðæne tpelfta dæg.
Ðæs te fulfiht tiid,	Tin eadige.
Eces dryhtnes,	þæleþ heaðu fore.
To us cymeþ.	þatað on Bryttene.
In foldan hefn,	*Hickes, Thesaur. Tom.* I., p. 203.

‡ Gloss. arts. *Adoratio Magorum; Apparitio Domini; Dies trium Regum; Festum Stellæ, or Stellæ Festum; Fête des Rois; Jour des Rois; Three kings of Cologne.*

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by a custom of eating the twelfth cake, and of drawing for the king and queen. In ancient kalendars is an observation on the 5th day of January, the vigil of the Epiphany, "Kings created by beans,"* and the sixth day is called "Festival of Kings," with another remark, that "the ceremony of electing kings was continued with feasting for many days." Sometimes a silver penny was baked in the Twelfth Cake instead of the bean, for the election of the king, which fell upon him to in whose portion of the cake the penny was contained. A similar custom, says Dr. Jamieson, prevails in the south of Scotland:—

Epiphany.

Twelfth Night Kings.

"To spae their fortune, 'mang the deugh
The luckie fardin's put in;
The scones ilk ane eats fast eneugh
Like onie hungrie glutton.

"This is a favorite custom. A small lump of dough, from which the (New Year) cake has been taken, is reserved; and in it a small coin, usually a farthing is put. The dough is then baked thin, and cut into small round scones, which, when fired, are handed round the company. Not a moment must be lost in eating them; it being of vast importance to get the scone with the hidden treasure, as it is believed, that happy person shall first taste the sweets of matrimonial felicity."† In Ireland, on All Halloween, a wedding ring is similarly employed for the same purpose.

The Students in the cities and universities of Germany, choose one of their number for king, and provide a most magnificent banquet on the occasion. In France, during the ancient regime, one of the courtiers was chosen a king, and the nobles attended at a banquet, at which he presided; and with the French, *Le Roi de la Fève*, still signifies a

* "Reges Fabis creantur." *Brand's notes to Bourne, p.* 205.

† Rev. J. Nicols's Poems, i. 28. Dr. Jamieson, Etym. Dict. art. *Bane.*

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Epiphany.

Twelfth Night King.* At the English court in the 8th year of the reign of Edward the Third, the majestic title of *King of the Bean* was confered upon one of the king's minstrels, as appears by a *Compotus* of that date, which states that sixty shillings were given by the king on the day of the Epiphany to Regan the trumpeter and his associates, the court minstrels, in the name of the king of the bean.† Selden asserts that all these whimsical transpositions of dignity are derived from the ancient Saturnalia, when the masters waited upon their servants, who were honored with mock titles and permitted to assume the state and department of their lords;‡ hence Horace allows his slave to use the ancient Saturnalian freedom in conversation with him:—

> —"Age, libertate Decembri
> (Quando ita majores voluerunt) utere: narra.§

The manner of choosing the Twelfth night monarch is probably a relic of the ceremonies among the Greeks for choosing the συμποσίαρχος βασιλεως, and among the Romans, the *rex modiperator, rex vini, basilicum, &c.*, whose business it was at these feasts to determine the laws of good fellowship, and to observe whether every one drank his proportion; whence he was also called οφθαλμος, the eye. He was commonly appointed by lots, and occasionally, perhaps, by beans,‖ as was usual among the Romans, but mostly

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* In the 14th century it acquired the title of *Le Festin du Roi-Boit.* When the King drank, all his attendants cried out *Le Roi boit, vive le roi!* "We read in the Popeliniere, l. IX., p. 78," says M. Bullet, who has written a learned and amusing dissertation on the subject, "that in 1557, admiral de Chatillon was on the point of surprizing Douay because the greater part of the garrison had got drunk in crying *Le Roi Boit.*" *Magasin Encyclopedique, an* 1801, *Tom.* VI., *p.* 288.

† "In nomine Regis de Faba." *Strutt*, B. iv., ch. 3., s. 7.

‡ Table Talk, tit. *Christmas.*

§ Lib, II., Sat. 7., v. 4.

‖ "The king of Saturnalia was elected by beans, and from thence came our king and queen on this day." *Fosbrooke, Dict. Antiquit.*

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by dice. Horace alludes to the *rex convivii*, or *arbiter*, and *rex bibendi*, on different occasions:—

—— "Quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi?"*

"To whom shall beauty's queen assign
To reign the monarch of our wine."†

Festival of The Three Kings.

On the Continent, the *Epiphany* is more commonly known as the *Festival of the Three Kings*, relating to which Gualvanei de la Flamma, who flourished about the year 1340, says Weston, has the following curious passage in his Chronicle of the Vicecomites of Milan, published by Muratori. In the year 1336, says he, the first Feast of the Three Kings was celebrated at Milan, by the convent of the friars preachers. The three kings appeared crowned on three great horses, richly habited, surrounded by pages, body guards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of St. Lawrence, where king Herod was represented with his scribes and wise men. The three kings ask Herod where Christ should be born, and his wise men having consulted their books, answer at Bethlehem. On which the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh and gold, the star still going before, marched to the church of St. Eustorgius, with all their attendants preceded by trumpets, horns, *apes*, *baboons*, and a great variety of animals. In the church on one side of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourse of the people, of

* Od. II. 7., v. 25.

† Francis:—The winning throw at dice was called Venus:—"Talis enim jactis, ut quisque canem, aut seniorem miserat, in singulos denarios in medium conferebat; quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem jecerat."—*Sueton. in Vita Augusti.* Vide *Salmuth ad Pariceroll. de Rebus Deperd. Par.* ii., *tit.* 2., *p.* 106.

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knight's, ladies and ecclesiastics was such as never before was beheld, &c.*

Epiphany.

In many of the parishes of Gloucestershire, it is customary on this day to light up one large fire, around which are disposed twelve others of a smaller size, says Brand, and General Vallancey states that at Westmeath they set up a high sieve of oats containing twelve candles placed round, and in the centre a larger candle, all burning.† In some counties twelve fires of straw are made in the fields "to *burn the Old Witch*," whom Mr. Fosbrooke takes to be the Druidical God of Death. It is quite evident that these rites are identical, and have originated in the Sabæan adoration of the sun in his passage through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, which on an ancient heliacal table of the quadruple deification of the sun, in the persons of Apollo, Bacchus, Hercules, and Hermes or Mercury, are represented by twelve rays issuing from the head of Apollo, known by his bow and quiver. Beneath is a festoon of garlands, composed of ivy and vine leaves with fruit intermingled. The festoon is supported at each extremity by the clubs of Hercules, round which is wrapped his lion's skin. The clubs rest upon piles of stone, the symbols of Hermes, and the caduceus of Mercury points from each pile to Apollo in the centre. On the base is the cup of Bacchus supporting the lyre of Apollo, which nearly touches the festooned garland of the former.‡ The whole is most ingeniously contrived to represent the unity of these deities in the sun in the four seasons of the year.

Burning the Old Witch.

The day after Twelfth Day, was called *Rock Day*, and

* Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. I., p. 293. *note.* In a church inventory of ornaments, dated 1548, is an article "Item, for the Coats of the iii Kyngs of Cologne v^{s} iiij^{d}." These may have been worn either in a procession on the Nativity or in a parish interlude. Vide Vol. II., 174-5, note. It does not appear that the festival was ever celebrated in England in the same manner as described in the text.

† Collect. de Rebus Hibernicis.

‡ Hieron. Alexandri Explic. Tabulæ Heliacæ, apud Græv. Thesaur. Antiquit.

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St. Distaff's Day, because women on that day resumed their spinning, which had been interrupted by the sports of Christmas; for our ancestors, it seems, returned to their work in a very leisurely manner. From Herrick's Hesperides, we learn that the men in boisterous merriment, burned the women's flax, and that they in retaliation dashed pails of water upon the men:—

Rock Day.

"Partly work, and partly play
Ye must on S. Distaff's day:
From the plough soone free your teame,
Then come home and fother them.
If the maides a spinning goe,
Burn the flax, and fire the tow.
* * * *
"Bring in pails of water, then
Let the maides bewash the men:
Give S. Distaff all the night,
Then bid Christmas sport good night:
And next morrow every one
To his owne vocation."

The Monday following Twelfth day was, for the same reason, denominated *Rock Monday*, which was one of the days observed by Sir Thomas Overbury's "Franklin":—"Rock Monday, and the wake in summer, shrovings, the wakeful ketches and Christmas, the hoky or seed cake, these he yearly keeps, yet holds them no relics of popery.* Neal, the puritanical historian mentions most of these festivities as heathenish rites,† and others of his party spoke of them as popish devices. This Monday is also called *Plough Monday*, being the period at which the plough is first exercised upon the ground. "In the north," says Brand, "at Christmas time *fool plough* goes about; a pageant that consists of a number of sword dancers dragging a plough about with music, and one or sometimes two of them attired in a very antic dress; as the Bessy in the

Plough Monday.

* Sir T. Overbury's Miscell. Works, Lond. 1754.

† Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I., p. 52. Parson's Abridgment, Vol. I., pp. 30 and 34.

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Rock Day.

grotesque habit of an old woman, and the fool *almost covered with Skins, a hairy cap on his head, and the tail of some animal hanging down his back.** So strongly does this attire point to the *Julbok*, the Gothic enactment of the Bacchanalian and Saturnalian orgia, that it is matter of astonishment to find Mr. Strutt refering to the Festival of Fools, instead of the Guisards, for the immediate origin of this ceremony. Certainly the interpolation of the Bessy may be deduced from that absurd and indecent rite. With greater probability he adds, "the fool plough was, perhaps, the yule plough."†

Festival of the Ass.

Theatrical representations of scriptural history were, no doubt, intended to make a deeper impression on the minds of the spectators; but the advantages resulting from this mode of instruction, seems to have been counterbalanced by the numerous ridiculous and idle ceremonies, which they originated. Of these none exceeded in gross absurdity the *Festival of the Ass*, which was annually performed on Christmas Day at Rouen, and on January 14, at Beauvais. The escape of the holy family into Egypt was represented thus:—a beautiful girl holding a child at her breast, was seated upon an ass in splendid trappings of gold cloth, and led in procession by the clergy through the principal streets to the parish church. Here the girl and her ass were placed near the high altar, and the mass, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, and other services were each concluded by a general braying of the congregation. In a MS. rubric, quoted by Du Cange, the priest on elevating the host is directed to bray thrice, to which the people were to respond in the same sonorous manner. A hymn, as ridiculous as the ceremony, was sung on this occasion.‡ According to Strutt, in the *Festival of Fools* on St. Stephen's day, the assistants sang as part of the mass, a burlesque composition called the

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* Pop. Antiquit. p. 128. Dr. Forster, Peren. Calend. p. 13.

† B. IV., ch. 3, s. 9.

‡ Du Cange, Gloss. Tom. III., col. 426,427.

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Prose of the Ass, or the *Fool's Prose*. It was performed by a double choir, and at intervals, in place of a burden, they imitated the braying of an Ass. On the festival of St. John, he adds from Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum (Vol. III. Append. 7.) they had another arrangement of ludicrous sentences denominated the *Prose of the Ox*, equally reprehensible.*

Voltaire supposes, that religious plays originally came from Constantinople, where they were introduced by Gregory Nazianzen, about the fourth century. As the ancient drama was there a religious spectacle, a transition was made to the stories of the old and new Testament, and the chorusses were converted into Christmas hymns. In corroboration of this theory, Warton observes that the Feast of Fools and of the Ass were instituted, though perhaps under other names about 990 by Theophilact patriarch of Constantinople, with the design of weaning the people from Bacchanalian and calendary solemnities.† This account receives further confirmation from the great number of repetitions of the Bacchanalian cry of *Evohe*, in the celebration of the Feast of the Ass, from the twelfth century, in the West of Europe:—

"Ex somnis stupet Evias."‡

The song of the Ass's Prose, says a French writer,§ was one of the principal ceremonies of the feast of fools, and took place on the festival of the Circumcision. Its object was to honor the humble and useful animal, which had assisted at the birth of Jesus Christ, and had afterwards borne him on its back on his entry into Jerusalem. The Church of Sens was one of these which employed the greatest apparatus in this ceremony. Before the commencement of Vespers, the clergy repaired in procession to

* Glig Gamena, B. IV., ch. 3., sect. 9.

† See Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. II., p. 368, 369, 370.

‡ Hor. Od. II. 15, 9.

§ Magasin Encyclopedique, An 1806, Tom. IV., p. 86.

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BOOK II.

Rock Day.

the principal gate of the church, where a couple of voices sang in a minor key these verses,

"Lux hodie, lux lætitiæ! Me judice, tristis
Quisquis erit, removendus erit solemnibus istis.

"i. e. Daily light, light of mirth! whoever will be sad, ought in my judgment, to be far from these rites."

M. Millin describes the cover of an ancient missal of the Feast of Fools preserved in the library of Sens. It is ornamented with mythological figures, representing the triumph of Bacchus, the sun, and the rising of Diana, the moon from the sea. The Bacchanalian scenes depicted agree very well with the feast which the cover represents, and in which a hundred times is repeated the very exclamation used in the Bacchanalia; *Evohe! Evohe!* The office was composed by pierre de Corbeil, archbishop of Sen, who died in June, 1222. M. Millin does not enter into the particulars of this office, though his readers would have been pleased to see some account of the most remarkable prayers. On a leaf at the beginning of the office are these four verses:—

"Festum stultorum, de consuetudine morum,
Omnibus urbs Senonis festivat nobilis annis,
Quo gaudet præcentor tamen omnis honor
Sit Christo circumciso nunc semper et almo."

Then this distitch:—

Tartara Bacchorum non pocula sunt fatuorum:
Tartara vincentes, sic fiunt ut sapientes.

This quatrain may be translated:—'Every year the city of Sens celebrates according to ancient usage the feast of fools, in which the precentor rejoices; however, all honor ought to be now and ever paid to the crucified Christ.' The play of words in the distich which is distinct from the quatrain, has merit. *Tartara* is at once, the tartar of wine, and hell.*

The Ass's Prose has often been printed from Du

* Magasin Encyclopedique, An. 1806, Tom. IV., p. 92. &c. Seqy.

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Cange's copy, which in many respects differs from that of Sens, and as, besides demonstrating in the burden, the Bacchanalian origin of the festival of the ass, or the festival of fools, under whatever name they are known, it is a singular production, it is inserted here:—

1. Orientibus partibus,
Adventavit asinus,
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus.
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!

2. Hic in collibus Sichem,
Enutritus sub Ruben,
Transiit per Jordanam
Saliit in Bethleem.
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!

3. Saltu vincit hinnulos,
Dagmas et capreolos,
Super dromedarios
Velox Madianeos
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!

4. Aurum de Arabia,
Thus et myrrham de Saba,
Talit in ecclesia,
Virtas asinaria.
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!

5. Dum trahit vehicula,
Multa cum sarcinula,
Illius mandibula
Dura terit pabula.
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!

6. Cum aristis hordeum,
Comédit et carduum
Tritica a palea
Segregat in area.
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!

7. Amen dicas, asine,
Jam satur ex gramine,
Amen, amen, itera
Aspernare vetera.
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!*

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* From eastern regions hath arrived an ass, beautiful and strong, and most proper to carry burdens. Hez, Sir Ass, hez!

2. He on the hills Sichem was fed by Ruben; he hath passed the Jordan, and hath capered in Bethleem, (or, he crossed over the Jordan and leaped in Bethleem.) Hez, Sir Ass, hez!

3. In the race he surpasses the fawn, the roebuck and the doe; he is swifter than the Madian dromedaries. Hez, Sir Ass, hez!

4. This ass's virtue hath brought into the church the gold of Arabia, incense and myrrh from Saba. Hez, Sir Ass, hez!

5. While he draws carts laden with luggage, his jaws masticate hard food. Hez, Sir Ass, hez!

6. He eats barley with the stalks, he feeds on thistles, and in the yard, he separates the wheat from the chaff.

7. Ass, with a belly full of grain, say Amen, say Amen, Amen again and again, and despise the old [*Amens?*] Hez, Sir Ass, hez!

The ancient Romans crowned with garlands the asses which turned mill-stones, and erected altars to Jupiter *Pistor* (the baker) during the *Vestalia*,

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Rock Day.

After the first stanza the following is found in some copies, as that of Du Cange:—

Lentus erat pedibus
Nisi foret baculus
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.
Hez, Sir Ane, hez!*

After the second strophe, in some copies is read:—

Ecce magnis auribus,
Subjugalis filius,
Asinus egregius
Asinorum dominus—Hez,&c.†

The conclusion of the Ass's prose, as given by Du Cange, is a palpable imitation of the noisy Bacchanalian cry of Evohe! Evohe!

"Hez va! hez va! hez va he
Bialx, Sire Asnes carallez
Belle bouche car chantez.‡

The anthem which followed the prose is composed of the introits of psalms, and at every second verse, the singers

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celebrated June 9, as appears from a Roman Kalendar:—

"V. Non. Junii. Vestæ. Asini coronantur. Ara Jovis Pistoris."

The encomium on the speed of the ass in the third strophe is not much unlike that of the Steeds of Richard I. in an ancient poem quoted by Strutt from the Harl. MS. 4690, of the 14th century:—

"Too stedes fownde King Richarde,
That oon favell, that other Lyard;
Yn this worlde they hadde no pere;
Dromedary, nether *destrere*,
Stede, rabyt, ne cammele,
Goeth none so swyfte withoute fayle;
For a thowsand pownde of golde,
Ne sholde the one be solde."

Glig Gamena, B. I., ch. III., s. 7.

* Slow he was in his pace if the cudgel were not used, and if he did not feel the prick or goad in his flanks.

† Behold this lovely child with the huge ears, who bears his yoke, a superb ass, the lord of asses.

‡ Gloss. T III., col. 427.

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roared out *Evovæ*; the second line and last line are shockingly profane :—

"Virgo hodie fidelis,
Dixit Dominus, *Evovæ!*
Virgo Verbo concipit.
Confitebor, *Evovæ!*
Nescia mater,
Beatus vir, *Evovæ!*
Virgo Dei genetrix.
De profundis, *Evovæ!*
Hodie memento, Domine, *Evovæ!*"*

After the "Deus in adjutorium," the choral service terminated with an Alleluia divided in the following whimsical manner :—

"ALLE—resonent omnes ecclesiæ,
Cum dulci melo symphoniæ,
Filium Mariæ
Genitricis piæ,
Ut nos septiformis gratiæ,
Unde Deo dicamus—LUYA."†

These specimens of the compositions of Pierre de Corbeille are probably sufficient. After the first vespers and complins, the precentor of Sens led the joyous band into the streets, which they perambulated preceded by a huge lantern. They went to the theatre prepared before the church, where they chanted the most indecent verses. The songs and dances were finished by dashing pails of water over the precentor's head. They re-entered the church where several men stripped themselves naked, and were deluged with pails of water. After vespers they sat down to table. The response contained an invocation to Christ

* The lord said, Evovæ! A faithful virgin, Evovæ! hath conceived the word to-day. I will confess, Evovæ! an unconscious mother, happy husband, Evovæ! Virgin mother of god, from the deeps, Evovæ! Remember this day o lord, Evovæ!

† *Alle*—let all the churches sing to the sound of a sweet symphony the son of Mary, the pious mother, in order that he may fill us with the gifts of seven-formed grace and glory, and that we may sing to god—*Luya*.

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BOOK II.

Rock Day.

and the virgin, to excite and inspire the good with mirth.

Maurice, bishop of Paris, who died towards 1196, had laboured to destroy these superstitious follies, but did not succeed; for the author of this office died in 1222, and there are vestiges of them after his time. By an act of the chapter of Sens in 1245, Odo, bishop of this church, prohibited all travesties and repressed much of the dissoluteness which attended this festival. But it was not to be destroyed by one effort, and it existed two hundred years; for in 1444, the faculty of theology at the request of some bishops, wrote a letter to all the prelates and chapters of France, desiring them to condemn and abolish these licentious rites. They still endured, and acts of councils held in the latter half of the fifth century speak of the feasts as abuses which ought to be retrenched. It is there said, that in order to avoid scandal, all those whose duty was to assist in the service on the Sunday of the Circumcision, should be dressed in a manner conformable to ecclesiastical dignity, and to sing without dissonance and as melodiously as they were able; that every one should perform his duty without disturbance and with decency, particularly in the church; that at Vespers only three pails of water at the most should be thrown over the precentor of fools; that they must no longer lead naked men into the church on the morrow of Christmas, but only to the walls of the cloister where they were to throw upon them no more than one pail of water, without doing them harm. Notwithstanding the censures of the Sorbonne, the feast of fools subsisted sometime longer; and permission to celebrate it is granted by acts of the general chapters of Sens in the years 1514 and 1517. At different other dates, are found licenses to celebrate the feast of fools. From this epoch it was sometimes forbidden, with modifications which always tended to diminish the indecency and obscenity; but it did not entirely cease until about the end of the sixteenth century.*

* Abridged from an elaborate article on the *Fête de Fous*, in the Mag. Encyclop. An. 1806, Tom. IV., p. 83—107, of which the general authorities

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It does not appear that in England, any thing more was done in these festivals, than the election of mock dignitaries, and the repeating of the Ass's Prose; nor has the precise time of their discontinuance been ascertained, but most assuredly it was many centuries before the cessation of them in France.

Rock Day.

The 17th of January is dedicated to *St. Anthony*, who was formerly in England and other countries as the patron of beasts and particularly of hogs. "St. Anthonie," says Dr. Fuller, "is universally known for the patron of hogs, having a pig for his page in all pictures, though for what reason unknown, except, because being a hermit, and having a cell or a hole digged in the earth, and having his general repast on roots, he and hogs did in some sort entercommon both in their diet and lodging.* Erasmus has also been witty on the same subject, but in a different manner:—"I wish," says the host to the Franciscan, "you would preach here to-morrow, because it is St. Anthony's day."—"He was a truly good man, but pray, why do you keep his festival?"—"Why! this village abounds in swineherds in consequence of the quantity of acorns in the adjoining woods; and they, being persuaded that St. Anthony takes care of their swine, worship him, lest he should neglect his charge; and so to-morrow the whole village will be one scene of drinking bouts, dances, games, squabbles, and riots."—"It was in this manner that the Heathens worshipped Bacchus, and I should wonder if Anthony, thus worshipped, were not enraged at men so much more besotted than their swine.† Stowe mentions a custom

St Anthony

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are Du Cange, v. Kalendæ; Lobineau, Hist. de Paris, Tom. I., p. 224; Des Memoires pour servir à l' Histoire de la Fête des Foux; Marlot, Metropolis Menensis Historia, 1666 and 1679, 2 Vol. folio; and Flögel, Geschichte des Groteskekomischen: Liegnitz u. Leipzig, 1788, 8vo. p. 159—170, who have collected all that is known of the feast, and who all consider it as a relic of pagan tradition, and a gross imitation of the Roman Saturnalia.

* Worthies, Vol. II., p. 56.

† Πτωχοπλουσιοι, vel Franciscani.

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BOOK II.

St Anthony

prevalent in his time among the overlookers of markets, "that the officers charged with the oversight of the markets in this city, did divers times take from the market people, pigs starved or otherwise unwholesome for man's sustenance; these they did slit in the ear. One of the proctors of St. Anthony's (hospital) tied a bell about the neck and let it feed upon the dunghills; no one would hurt or take it up; but if any gave them bread or other feeding, such they would know, watch for, and daily follow, whining till they had somewhat given them; whereupon was raised a proverb, Such an one will follow such an one, and whine as it were an *Anthony Pig*.* This custom was observed in many other places, and to it we are indelibly indebted for the proverbial simile, "Like a tantony pig."

Anthony Pigs.

In Italy, *S. Antonio l' Abate*, as he is called, is the patron of the *Vetturini*, or car drivers, as well as of their horses. These people have him constantly in their mouths, and, in reply to harsh language, they will sometimes threaten a special chastisement for abusing his dear friends in these lines:—

"Chiunque dice mal d' un vetturino,
Lo posse castigare Sant Antonio;
I vetturini sono i suoi cari."

Anthony's Fire.

An inflammatory epidemic having been checked, in the eleventh century, through the intercession of St. Anthony, as the popular belief was, it has been called *St. Anthony's Fire*; though Johnson, the Hermetic lexicographer pretends that this disorder was named the *Vengeance of St. Anthony*.† We shall not dispute this important point. Erasmus mentions St. Anthony's Fire in connection with his hogs and a bell, with the sound of which he probably attempted to govern those obstinate brutes:—"We believed that we should engage St. Anthony to regard us with

* Survey of London, p. 190.

† Lexicon Chymicum, voc. *Brunus*, p. 39., Lond. 1652.

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marks of his particular favour if we feed a number of hogs sacred to him, and if we had a picture of him with his hog, fire and bell in doors and on the walls of our houses: nor did we fear, what was more to be dreaded, that any ill would befal those dwellings, where those vices predominated, which that holy man always detested.* St. Velten's (Valentine) Dance in Germany, and St. Vitus's Dance in England, are popular names of other disorders.

Septuagesima.

Septuagesima, a moveable feast, occurs between this day and February 22, accordingly as the Paschal full moon falls. It was formerly distinguished by a strange ceremony, denominated the *Funeral of Alleluia*.† On the Saturday of Septuagesima at nones, the choristers assembled in the great vestiary of the cathedral, and there arranged the ceremony. Having finished the last *Benedicamus*, they advanced with crosses, torches, holy waters, and incense, carry a clod of earth in the manner of a coffin, passed through the choir, and went howling to the cloister, as far as the place of interment; and then having sprinkled the water and censed the place, they returned by the same road. According to a story (whether true or false) in one of the churches of Paris, a choir boy used to whip a top, marked *Alleluia*, written in golden letters, from one end of the choir to the other. In other places Alleleuia was buried by a serious service on Septuagesima Sunday.‡ This ceremony seems to have originated in a regulation of the council of Toledo, in 643, by the 11th chapter of which, the canticle of joy, called *Alleleuia*, was forbidden to be sung in the days of Lent, "because that was not a time for rejoicing, but for mourning; and the singing was not to be resumed until Easter, the festival of the resurrection."§ Notker, the ancient German commentator on the Psalms, observes that, the "Alleluia, which we sing at Easter for fifty days, be-

Funeral of Alleluia.

* Ιχθυοφαγια.

† See Gloss. art. *Alleleuaticæ Exequiæ.*

‡ Fosbrooke, British Monachism.

§ Martin, Lipen. Hist. Strenarum, Æt. IV., s. 48.

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tokens future joys, while Lent denotes the miserable days of this age."* The period of preparation for Lent commenced with Septuagesima, and the Funeral of Alleluia seems to have been deemed a necessary prelude.

St. Agnes.

St. Agnes's Day, January 21, is fruitful in love superstitions, of which the most common are the following. "On St. Agnes's night," says Aubrey, who was rather a credulous person, "take a row of pins, and pull out every one, one after another, singing a paternoster and sticking a pin in your sleeve, and you will dream of him or her you shall marry." Ben Jonson in his beautiful masque of the *Satyr*, which was presented to Anne, queen of James the first, and prince Henry, at Althorpe, the seat of Lord Spenser, refers to this superstition, but ascribes it to the wrong night (St. Anne's, July 26). Speaking of the fairy queen Mab, his satyr says in lines, which are usually misquoted:—

Amatory Divinations.

"She can start our Franklin's daughters
In their sleep with shouts and laughters;
And on sweet St. Anna's night,
Feed them with a promised sight,
Some of husbands, some of lovers,
Which an empty dream discovers."

Another divinatory method employed by love sick maidens, is to sleep in a county in which they do not usually reside, and to knit the left garter round the right leg stocking, leaving the other garter and stocking untouched. They then repeat the following spell, knitting a knot at the end of each line:—

"This knot I knit,
To know the thing I know not yet,
That I may see
The man that shall my husband be,
How he goes, and what he wears,
And what he does all days and years."

* Alleluja die wir zu Ostron singen per quinquaginta dies, bezeichnet futura gaudia; also auch Quadragesima bezeichnet ærumnosos dies hujus sæculi." *In Ps.* CXI. 1. *apud Schilter, Thesaur. Antiq. Teuton. Tom.* iii., *p.* 21.

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Amatory Divinations.

And if spells fail not, he will appear in a dream with the insignia of his profession. Gay gives a classical example of tying the love-knot, for the purpose of confirming a lover in his passion:—

"As Lubberkin once slept beneath a tree,
I twitch'd his dangling garter from his knee.
He wist not when the hempen string I drew,
Now mine I quickly doff, of inkle blue.
Together fast I tie the garters twain;
And while I knit the knot, repeat this strain:
Three times a true-love's knot I tie secure,
Firm be the knot, firm may his love endure."

This tying of amatory knots, to unite the affections of others with their own, as in Gay's instance, was a common expedient among the Romans:—

"Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
Necte, Amarylli, modo; et Veneris, dic, vincula necto."*
"Knit with three knots the fillet, knit them straight,
And say, these knots to love I consecrate." *Dryden.*

St. Vincent.

St. Vincent's Day, Jan. 22, is distinguished by an injunction to observe whether the sun shine, which is quoted by Brand:—

"Vincenti festo si sol radiet memor esto."
"Remember on St. Vincent's day
If that the sun his beams display." *Abr. Flemming.*

Prognostications of Weather.

Dr. Forster supposes that it may have arisen from an idea that the sun would not shine inauspiciously "on that day, on which the martyrdom of the saint was so inhumanly finished by burning.† There is, however, an old proverb of the vintagers, to which it seems closely allied:—

"A la fête de Saint Vincent
Le vin monte dans le sarment;
Et on va bien autrement,
S'il gèle, il en descend."

* Peren. Calend. p. 26.

† Virg. Eclog. VIII., v. 77.—"Dum hæc loquitur maga imaguncalam Daphnidis tenere eamque tribus filis, diversi quoque coloris, circumdare et circa aram portare putanda est."—*Heyne, Annot. in Loc.*

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BOOK II.

St. Paul.

The *Eve of St. Paul*, January 24, is marked as "*Dies Ægyptiacus*," in the old Kalendar quoted by Brand, who states his ignorance of any reason for calling it an Egyptian day. An admission of insufficient acquaintance with the term itself is made by Lambecius, in his notes on the Valentinian Kalendar, composed about A.D. 354,* in which the following days are marked as Egyptian:—

Egyptian Days.

January 2, 6, 16.	April 3, 21.	July 6, 18.	October 3, 20.
February 7, 25.	May 3, 21.	August 6, 21.	November 2, 24.
March 3, 24.	June 7, 20.	September 3, 19.	December 4, 14.

Beda, in his poem "De Horologio," says that as Egypt in Greek signifies darkness; the day of death is called an Egyptian Day, and that there are twenty two days in the year, in which one hour is terrible to mortals:—

> "Si tenebræ Ægyptus Graio sermone vocatur,
> Inde dies mortis tenebrososque jure vocamus:
> Bis deni, binique dies scribantur in anno,
> In quibus una solet mortalibus hora timeri."

The old historian, William Neubrigensis, thinks that they are called Egyptian Days from the authors of the superstition;† and this seems very probable. According to Herodotus they first distributed the year into twelve months,‡ and, giving to each a patron deity, they predicted human fortune, and the day of death, by that of birth.§

To this Manilius refers in the first book of his Astronomy:—

> "Nascendi quæ cuique dies, quæ vita fuisset,
> In quas fortunæ leges quæque hora valeret."

St. Paul.

To *St. Paul's Day*, or the *Conversion of St. Paul*, January 25, the superstition of many countries has ascribed

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* "De Die Ægyptiaco, cujus mentio in hoc kalendario passim occurrit, nondum mihi satis liquet." *Græv. Thesaur. Antiq. Tom.* viii., *p.* 104.

† Lib. IV., cap. 1.

‡ Lib. II., cap. 4.

§ Ibid. cap. 82.

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the virtue of indicating the good or ill fortune of the ensuing year. The following monkish rhymes seem to have been familiar to all nations in the middle ages:— *St. Paul.*

"Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni;
Si fuerint venti, designant prælia genti;
Si fuerint nebulæ, pereunt animalia quæque;
Si nix, si pluvia, designant tempora cara.*

Of these canons of prognostication there is extant the following ancient version, which Willsford has inserted somewhat altered, in his 'Nature's Secrets':—

"If Saint Paules day be faire and cleare
It doth betide a happy yeare:
But if by chance it then should raine,
It will make deare all kinds of graine.
If the clouds make dark the skie,
The neate and fowles this year shall die:
If blustering winds do blow aloft,
Then wars shall trouble the realm full oft."

The usual state of the weather at this season seems to have given rise to proverbial phrases as well as prognostications; thus Shakspeare's Don Pedro says,—

"Good morrow, Benedict; why what's the matter
That you have such a *February face*,
So full of frost, of storm and cloudiness?"†

On this month, consisting of the same number of days as the solar cycle, Owen has the following epigram:—

Es similis Matri tu, de tot fratribus, unus;
Sunt tibi *viginti* scilicet *octo* dies.‡

February 1 is dedicated to *St. Bride, Bridget,* or *Brigida,* who appears to be no other than old deity of Ireland, the goddess Brid, Brit, or Brighit, the daughter of *St. Bride*

* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Codex, 2067, art. 14.

† Much ado about Nothing, Act V., sc. 4.

‡ Epigrammat. Joannis Audoeni Cambro-Britanni. Lib. IV., Ep. 108, Lond. 1659.

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BOOK II.

St. Bride.

Daghdae or Dagon, the sun. Mr. Faber says, "Brid is the prototype of St. Bride, to whom so many Welsh churches are dedicated; and the deity from whose name our English word Bride, *a new married woman*, is derived. Brid, being the goddess of the covenant which ratified the allegorical marriage of Noah and the Ark, was thence esteemed the tutelary genius of marriage in general: accordingly we are informed by Col. Vallancey, that the sacrifice on the confirmation of marriage was by the ancient Irish denominated *Caca Brideoige*, or the *cake of Brid.* (Vind. of Anc. Hist. of Ireland. Collect. de Reb. Hibern. Vol. V., p. 492). It is evident that our modern custom of having a bride-cake, as it is termed, upon the marriage day, originated from this idolatrous rite."*

Bride's Cakes

Candlemas

The *Purification*, or *Candlemas Day*,† February 2, is another of those days from which the superstitious agriculturist, has been accustomed to estimate the character of the weather for the ensuing year. Bishop Hall, in a sermon on Candlemas Day, remarks that "it hath been an old (I say not how true) note, that hath been wont to be set on this day, that if it be clear and sun-shiny, it portends a hard weather to come; if cloudy and louring, a mild and gentle season ensuing." Sir Thomas Browne, in his Vulgar Errors, quotes the metrical foundation of the bishop's remark: "There is a general tradition, he says," in some parts of Europe, that inferreth the coldnesse of succeeding weather from the shining of the sun on Candlemas Day, according to the proverbial distich:—

"Si sol splendescat, Maria purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quam ante."

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* Dissert. on the Cabiri, Vol. II., p. 400, note.

† *Candelaria; Candelcisa; Candelossa; Candlemas; Chandelor; Chaundelure; Festum Beatæ Mariæ Candelariæ, F. Sancti Simeonis, Festum Candelarum, Festum Luminum; Occursus; Hypapanti, Purificatio Beatæ Mariæ; Ypanti.*

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The old Almanacs did not neglect this day: one of them thus partly imitates the proverb:— *Candlemas*

> "If Candlemas Day be fair and bright
> Winter will have another flight;
> But if Candlemas Day be clouds and rain,
> Winter is gone and will not come again."

There is a humorous proverb in Ray's collection, to the same effect:—

> "The hind had as lief see his wife on the bier,
> As that Candlemas Day should be pleasant and clear."

Among the atmospherical phenomena, from which the superstitious were accustomed to predict extraordinary events, it was impossible that thunder should escape judicial observation. Accordingly we find in some extracts published from Saxon manuscripts by Dr. Hicks in his catalogue, that "if it should thunder in the even-tide, it betokeneth the birth of a great man;"—if at midnight, then it signifieth a great famine."—Again, "If in the entering year, the first thunder happen on a Sunday, then it denoteth mortality in royal families (cyne beanna cpealm):—if it thunder on Saturday, then will be mortality of judges and governors."* In another manuscript we find that if it thunder in the month of January it bodeth great winds, and destruction of agricultural produce, pel ȝepænde eoꝺe pæꝼtme ⁊ ȝenihꞇ:—in December, it bodeth a good year for husbandry, and peace and concord, "ꝼibb ⁊ ꝼehꞇe.† *Saxon Superstitions.*

Candlemas Day is so called from having been celebrated with many candles, and the name is as old as our Saxon predecessors, canꝺel mæꝼꝼa,‡ if not much more ancient. In a poem, supposed to be the composition of John Lydgate, who lived about the reign of Henry the Sixth, and

* Thesaur. Tom. II., p. 194.
† Ibid. p. 204.
‡ Chron. Saxon. ad An. 1014, &c. *Dissert. Sax. Chron. p.* 286.

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BOOK II.

bearing the refrain 'Ave Regina Cœlorœm,' the virgin herself is addressed as a light:—

Candlemas

"Haile Luminary and benynge Lanterne."*

The tenants of monastic establishments frequently held their lands on the condition of furnishing a quantity of wax to make the candles, which were intended to be used in the celebration of this festival.† Sprinkled with holy water and blessed, these candles were supposed to possess the power of repelling evil spirits:—

"Whose candelle burneth cleere and bright, a wonderous force and might
Doth in these candelles lie, which, if at any time they light,
They sure believe that neither storm nor tempest dare abide,
Nor thunder in the skie be heard, nor any divel spide,
Nor fearfull sprites that walk by night, nor hurt by frost and haile."‡

Februa.

This was the season, at which the *Februa*, a feast of purification and atonement was held anciently at Rome.§ That which was purified was called *Februatum*, and the month in which the purification took place, *Februarius*. This month was sacred to Juno, whose festival was celebrated on the first day, and hence she was called *Februata Juno*, as the Virgin was called *Maria Purificata*. The correspondence between the original pagan and subsequent Christian festival in all these points of similarity, synchronism, name, and design of institution, which are deemed sufficient in all cases to establish the affinity, if not identity

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* Harl. MSS. Codex. 2251, fo. 35, b.

† Dr. Whitaker has printed an undated charter, which seems to belong to the commencement of the thirteenth century, and by which an abbot of Furness confirms to Sir Michael the Fleming, certain lands, formerly granted to his ancestor for his homage ("honore") and service, and for a pound of wax to make the abbot's candles in the festival of the Purification; "et pro un libra cere ad candelas abbatis faciendas in purificatione Sancte Marie."—*Hist. Richm. Vol.* II., *p.* 402.

‡ Barnabe Googe's Transl. of Regnum Papisticum, p. 47. 1570.

§ "Februa Romani discere piamina patres
Nunc quoque dant verbo plurima signa fidem."
Ovid. Fast. Lib. II., *v.* 19.

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of religious observances, is among the most remarkable coincidences that have fallen under notice. The lights used in these festivals are unquestionable relics of Sabæism.

Candlemas

At Grammar Schools in Scotland, the scholars pay a candlemas gratuity, as they generally do in England a shrovetide cock-penny, according to their rank and fortune, from five shillings to as many pounds, when there is a keen competition for a badge of distinction, called the *Candlemas Crown*. He that pays most is king for six weeks, and during his reign, he is not only entitled to demand an afternoon's play for the scholars once a week, but he has also the royal privilege of remitting punishment.*

St. Blaise.

The *day of St. Blaise*, (February 3,) the patron of the Woolcombers, is splendidly celebrated every seventh year, by a feast and procession of the masters and workmen in the woollen manufactories of Yorkshire.† The same description of tradesmen, in Bedfordshire, anciently introduced into the sheep-shearing festivals, a personation of their patron bishop, who was accompanied by masquers, morris dancers and other holiday characters.‡ A proverbial saying in Lancashire, "As drunk as blazes," is probably corrupted from "As drunk as Blaisers," which may have originated in the misconduct of some of the artisans in the septennial commemoration of their patron. However this may be, the phrase has travelled across the Atlantic: a magazine of 1832, extracted from an American newspaper, a humourous description of a military muster, during which the following conversation occurred:—

> "Capting, I say! here's an engagement on the right flank"
> "You don't say so, Leftenint—what is it?"
> "Why Parks Lummis and George King are fighting like blazes."

Shrove Tuesday.

This is the earliest day on which *Shrove Tuesday* can fall, as March 9, is the latest. It derives its distinctive

* Sir John Sinclair, Stat. Acc. of Scotl. Vol. XIII., p. 2111.
† Leeds Mercury, Feb. 5, 1825, Feb. 4, 1832.
‡ Hone's Year Book, P. x. p. 1202.

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BOOK II.

Shrovetide

epithet in English from the custom of the people in applying to the priest to *shrive* them, or hear their confessions, before entering on the great fast of Lent, the following day. Its Latin and continental names have all a reference to the last time of eating flesh.* After the people had made the confession required by the ancient discipline of the church, they were permitted to indulge in festive amusements, though restricted from partaking of any repasts beyond the usual substitutes for flesh; hence the name *Carnaval*, etymologically signifying, Flesh, fare thee well.† From this cause originated the custom of eating pancakes at Shrovetide, which began on the Sunday before the first in Lent (*Dominica ad Carnes Levandas*). By the common people too, the preceding Saturday, in Oxfordshire particularly, is called *Egg Saturday*;‡ and Monday of Shrovetide in northern counties receives the name of *Collop Monday* from the primitive custom of regaling on Collops or slices of bread, which were subsequently changed to slices of meat. Collops of meat were also salted on this day for the ensuing fast. Our most usual name of the Tuesday is originally Swedish, *Pankaka*, an omelette; but, it has been absurdly derived from the Greek παν & κακοι, *all bad*, in reference to the penitents at confession. Like Christmas and some other festivals, shrovetide was a season of jocund hospitality, to which our older poets frequently refer.

Egg Saturday

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* *Caramentrant, Caramentrannus, Caresme prenant, Caremprenium; Carnicapium, Carnebrevium; Carniprivium, Carnisprivium; Carnivora, Carnival, Carnevale; (Dominica ad Carnes Levandas), Fastnacht; Fasguntide, &c.; Fastingong; Pancake Tuesday (Mensis Plancentorum) Mardi-gras; Quareme prenant; Quaresmal; Quarementranus; &c.*

† Du Cange proposes *Carn-a-val*, quod sonat, caro abscedit. *Gloss. Tom.* II., *col.* 386.

‡ This name is employed as a date, by Antony à Wood:—"One hundred and ninety two bachelors to determine this Lent, but 23 or thereabouts were not presented on Egg Saturday." *Diarium ad An.* 1681. Lives of Leland, Hearne & Wood, Vol. II., p. 297.

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Justice Shallow, in the play of Henry the Fourth, sings in the joy of his heart,—

> "Be merry, be merry,—
> *'T is merry in hall, when beards wag all,*
> And welcome merry shrovetide;"—*

and, in the days of Shakspeare, the higher classes indulged in the festivities of this season. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking of Ladies Wentworth and Bennet, writes to Sir Dudley Carlton, in 1620,—"They pass the time merrily—all those fair sisters being summoned for the purpose, so that on Thursday next, the king, the prince, and all the court go thither a *Shroving*.†

Cock Throwing.

Shrovetide was anciently noted for *cock-fighting*, *cock-throwing*, and indeed, of every loose and profligate diversion, arising from the indulgences formerly granted by the church, to compensate for the long season of fasting and humiliation, which commenced on the succeeding Ash Wednesday. "What the church debars us on one day," says Selden, "she gives us leave to take on another; first we feast, and then we fast—there is a carnival and then a lent." The highest classes participated in these brutal sports: the following entry appears in the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII," in the year 1493:—

> "Mar. 2, To Mast. Bray for rewardes to them that brought cokkes at Shrovetide at Westm^r. £1."‡

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* This is a common proverbial expression, on which John Heywood in the reign of Henry the Eighth, wrote an epigrammatic commentary:

> ——"*It is merry in hall, when beardes wagge all.*
> Husband, for this these woords to mind I call;
> This is ment by men in their merie eatinge,
> Not to wag their beardes in brawling or threatinge:
> Wyfe, the meaning hereof differeth not two pinnes,
> Betweene waggінge of mens beardes and womens chinnes."

Epigrammes on Proverbes Ep. 2. *Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 90.

† Nichols, Progr. K. James, Vol. III., p. 587.

‡ Excerpta Historica, p. 93. This king seems to have been partial to rough diversions: there are several payments in 1493 for bull baits;

"July 1, To hym that had his bull bayted, in rewarde 10^s." p. 94.

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BOOK II.

Shrovetide

Cock-fighting is of high antiquity among us, having, no doubt, been introduced by the Romans, among whom as well as among the Greeks, cocks were matched like gladiators, and large wagers depended upon the issue of the battles:* they are mentioned as common from the first to the third century. Cock-fighting was in usage at this season among the children of London in the twelfth century;† but cock-throwing, though sometimes stated on the authority of a German writer, Cranenstein, to have been a Saxon commemoration of an unsuccessful assault on the Danes,‡ is not traced more distantly than the reign of Edward the third, as a customary sport. Sir Thomas More, in the sixteenth century, mentions among the sports of his "Childhod" throwing "a cockstele,"§ or stick at a cock. To the credit of the Puritans, cock-fighting was prohibited by an act of the commonwealth.‖ Throwing at cocks was revived at the Restoration; and in London continued to be practised until 1769, when it was suppressed by the police.¶

Tusser, the agricultural poet, mentions another barbarous sport of our rustic forefathers:—

> "At Shrovetide to shroving, go *thresh the fat hen*,
> If blindfold can kill her, then give it thy men.

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* Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. X., cap. 21.—*Columell.* p. 634,635, *Ed. Gesner.*

† Strutt, Glig Gamena. B. iii., ch. 7., s. 20.—B. iv., ch. 3., s. 13.

‡ "While the Danes were masters of England, the inhabitants of one of the cities formed a conspiracy to murder their enslavers in one bloody night, when 12 men undertook to enter the town hall by stratagem, and seizing the arms, to surprise the guard, at which time their fellows, upon a signal given, were to come out of their houses and despatch all their oppressors. The unusual crowing of the cocks near the place, which they attempted to enter frustrated their design, upon which the Danes became so enraged that they exercised still greater cruelty over the English. Soon after, however, the latter being freed from the Danish Yoke, instituted the custom of throwing at cocks on Shrove Tuesday, (the day of their disappointment) from a stupid and barbarous spirit of revenge."

§ Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. III., p. 101.

‖ Historia Histrionica, prope finem. Edit. 1699., 8vo.

¶ Malcolm's Anecdotes, p. 403, Lond. 4to. 1808.

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Maids, fritters and pancakes inow see ye make,
Let slut have one pancake for company sake.*

St. Valentine.

The tossing of fritters and pancakes on this day was a source of harmless mirth, and is still practised in the rural parts of Cheshire and Lancashire, with its ancient accompaniments:—

"It is the day whereon both rich and poore
Are chiefly feasted on the self-same dish,
When every paunch till it can hold no more,
Is fritter filled, as well as heart can wish:
And every man and maide doe take their turne,
And tosse their pancakes up for feare they burne,
And all the kitchen doth with laughter sound
To see the pancakes fall upon the ground.†

In some parts of Germany, according to Lavater "Of Ghostes," it was usual to celebrate Shrovetide with bonfires.

The 12th of February may be noticed on account of an usual, and indeed poetical entry against it in the old Kalendar of Durham: "On this day birds begin to sing," and it is to be remarked that it is but one day before the eve of St. Valentine, which, on some account or other, incurred with many others, the displeasure of the Puritans:—"They solemnly renounce Lammas Day, Whitsunday, Candlemas, Beltan, Cross Stones and Images, Fairs named by Saints, and all the remnants of popery; Yule or Christmas, Old Wives' fables, and bye-words, as Palm Sunday, Carlin Sunday, the 29th of May, being dedicated by this generation to prophanity; Pasch Sunday, Hallow Even, Hogmyne night, *Valentine's Even, &c.*"‡

Holidays obnoxious to the Puritans.

A vulgar belief prevails, that the first two single persons of opposite sexes, who meet in the morning of *St. Valentine's Day*,§ (Feb. 14,) may have a chance of becoming

St. Valentine's Day.

* Ploughman's Feasting Days, Stanz. 3.
† Pasquil's Palinodia, apud Ellis.
‡ Law's Memorialls, p. 191. Jamieson, Suppl. art. *Carlin Sunday.*
§ *Sancti Valentini Festum.*

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BOOK II.

St. Valentine.

husband and wife. John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, who died in 1440, has a poem in praise of Queen Catherine, consort of Henry the Fifth, in which he says:—

"Seynte Valentine, Of custom yeere by yeere,
Men have an usaunce in this regioun,
To loke and serche Cupides Kalendere,
And chose theyr choyse, by grete affeccioun;
Such has ben prike with Cupides mocioun,
Takyng theyre choyse as theyre sorte doth falle;
But I love oon whiche excellith alle."*

Among the youths of ancient Rome, it was customary on the 15th of February, the festival of the Lycæan Pan, whose prerogatives seem to be usurped by St. Valentine, to draw the names of girls in honor of the *Februata Juno*. Valentine's day has long been imagined to be the day on which birds pair; hence allusions to it are frequent in our early poets.

Our old poet Gower about 1350 has the following beautiful stanza commencing his 34th Balade:—

"Saint Valentine, l'Amour, et la Nature,"
Des touts oiseals ad en gouernement,
Dont chascun deaux, semblable a sa mesure,
Un compaigne honeste a son talent
Eslist, tout dun accord et dun assent,
Pour celle soule laist a covenir;
Toutes les autres car nature aprent
Ou li coers est le corps falt obeir."

Shakspeare refers to the same law of nature:—

"*Theseus.* Good Morrow friends, St. Valentine is past;
Begin these wood-birds but to couple now?"†

On this account, too, the 14th of February has been deemed peculiarly ominous to lovers, so that the amatory epistles and verses, transmitted on this day, have received

* Harl. MSS. Cod. v. 2251, fo. 268., b. Strutt, Horda Angel-Cynna, Vol. III., p. 179.

† Shakspeare, Mids. Night's Dream, Act. IV., sc. I.

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St. Valentine.

the name of the saint;* though Dr. Jamieson erroneously asserts that the term *Valentine*, in England, is restricted to persons.† In the reign of Edward the Fourth, a custom of choosing Valentines was observed in the houses of the principal gentry in England. In the Paston Letters, Dame Elizabeth Brews, the mother of the lady, whom Mr. John Paston afterwards married, writes to him thus,—"And cosyn uppon Fryday is Sent Volentynes day, and every brydde chesyth hym a make, and yf it lyke yow to come on Thursday at nyght, and p'vey yowe y^t^ ye may abyde y^r^ tyll Monday, I truste to God y^t^ ye schall speke to mine husband, and I schall prey y^t^ we schall brynge the matter to a conclusion." In 1476, the young lady herself addresses a letter "Unto my ryght welebelovyd Voluntyn John Paston Squyre."‡ Valentine was, therefore, the term for an affianced lover. Lovers, in the bishopric of Metz, betrothed themselves in like manner, on the day of Brandons§ or first Sunday of Lent, which falls about this time, and sometimes on this day, and they were called *Les Valantins*, or *Les Valantines*, according to their sex. By ancient custom, the male is obliged to *redeem his mistress*, that is, to make her a present, or to regale her before Midlent Sunday; otherwise she will burn her Valentine, or rather his effigy, formed of a bundle of straw or vine twigs, on this day. The young women assemble for this purpose, in the evening, and make a sort of bonfire of the collected bundles. A ceremony of proclaiming Valentines exists in this district, and is peculiar to it: the ceremony is called *Vausenotte*, and the parties are named Vausenots and Vausenottes, from the old French verb *vauser*, (vocare) to call,

Customs in Metz.

Vausenottes.

* Of these missives, 200,000, the number of letters beyond the usual daily average, annually pass through the Twopenny Post Office in London. *Hone, E. D. Book, Vol.* I., *p.* 215.

† Etymol. Dict. Art. *Valentine.*

‡ Paston Letters, Vol. II., pp. 208, 210.

§ Gloss. *Dominica de Brandonibus.*

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BOOK II.

to name, and from *nouces, nupces, notces, nuptiæ* or, nuptials.*

St. Valentine.

The Germans have converted the name of Valentine into *Velten*, and the epilepsy, with which this saint was greatly affected,† is known by the name of *Veltens-Tanz*, or St. Valentine's Dance, in the same way as we term a particular morbid affection of the limbs, *St. Vitus's Dance*, though we can assign no reason for it. The Germans have also a jocular imprecation of "Potz Velten!" or "Dass dich der Velten!" which has been commonly understood to refer to St. Valentine, or to his disorder. The learned, however, have other notions of this subject than are entertained by the multitude. Joh. Schildius ascends to a very high antiquity for its origin, and is of opinion that it preserves the memory of Velleda,‡ who was a prophetic virgin, worshipped by one of the tribes of Germany.§ Adelung, in opposition Frisch, denies that the expression is in any respect related to St. Velten or Valentine, and insists that, to all appearance, it is corrupted from *Valant* or *Falant*, an old name of the devil;‖ so that this imprecation "Dass sich der Velten!" is equivalent to our wish that a person were with Old Nick, which is also liable to be mistaken for the

Potz Velten.

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* Dict. Walon, Celtique, &c. art. *Valentines; Vausenottes.*

† "Da in der Römische Kirche der heil. Valentin in der Epilepsie angerufin wird, weil er sich selbst in seinem Leben davon nicht befreyen konnte, so wird diese Krankheit in einigen Mundarten, besonders Ober Deutschlands, noch jetzt Valentins-Krankheit, ingleichen Veltens-Tanz genannt." —Adelung, v. *Velten.*

‡ "Denique memoriam ejus inter imprecandi superstitare formulas censeo: siquidem joculariter alicui malam optaturi, *die Veldten* advocamus." —*De Caucis Lib.* II., *cap.* 4., *p.* 135, *Lugd. Bat.* 1649.

§ "Velledæ autoritas adolevit, quia prosperas Germanis res, et excidium legionum prædixerat."—*Tacit. Hist. Lib.* IV., *cap.* 61.

‖ Adelung derives *Falant* and *Velten* from Teuton. *bal, wal,* i. böse, wicked; but *Fal,* rapine, seems as likely to be the root, and Dr. Theodor Arnold has *Potz Felten!*—Vide Schilter. *Thes. Antiq. Teuton. Tom.* III, in verb.—Wachter explains *Valand* by "Latro Montanus."—*Gloss. Germanicum.*—Velleda, whom Dio calls Beleda, in Fragm. xlix, 67. 5. seems to have some affinity to the Druidical Belus.

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popular abbreviation of a saint's name. And thus it is not very clear whether the devil or a christian saint be the patron of lovers.

"It is singular," says a writer who does enter deeply into the subject, but who communicates an interesting fact, "to observe how customs and superstitions have descended from the ancient to the modern Romans, through all the revolutions, which Italy has undergone, and the change in religion. Many churches of modern Rome occupy the site of ancient temples, and in the same manner christian Saints have taken place of the heroes of heathenism, and catholic observances have been founded on Roman superstitions.

"On the north side of the Palatine Hill, on the spot where according to tradition the twin brothers of the empire of the world were discovered, stood a temple dedicated to Romulus, in whose honor the *Quirinalia*, February 17, were instituted, after his apotheosis; and the sacred fane contained a brazen statue of the wolf suckling the two infant sons of Mars. To this the Roman mothers bore their children when sick, and the touch of the image was said to produce a miraculous cure. This beautiful little rotunda, now dedicated to *St. Theodore* [bishop of Heraclea, whose day is February 7] still retains its fame in this particular; for the holy water is sprinkled on the sick infant, brought to the altar of the saint, and the modern mother leaves the temple with the same expectation of returning health to her sick offspring.*

* Kaleidoscope, Vol. III., p. 362. *Liverpool*, 1823.

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Section III.

SPRING.

"——— Dat Petrus ver Cathedratus."

St. Peter's Chair.

*St. Peter's Chair,** at Antioch, February 22, is remarkable for nothing more than the rites substituted for the more ancient *Caristia* of the Romans, which appears to have been celebrated on the same day. The account given of the Christian festival by Beletus, is to the following effect:—It is named the festival of St. Peter's Banquets; for it was a custom of the old Heathens, annually observed on a certain day in February, to deposit food on the tombs of their deceased relations, for the repast of their *manes* or ghosts, but it was devoured by *demons* in the night; yet the credulous Heathens believed that it had refreshed the shades of their friends, while hovering about the tombs. This custom and the error, on which it was founded, were extirpated with much difficulty; and the means applied to this purpose by holy men, consisted in instituting the festival of St. Peter's Chair at Rome and Antioch, to be celebrated on the same day.† The reproof of Heathen credulity is ingenuous, and the original custom is probably correctly explained. The ghost of the ancients though a mere incorporeal shade, to be seen, but not to be touched,‡ was represented as wearing the same arms and clothes, as

Ghosts of the ancients.

* Gloss. *Cathedra S. Petri.*

† Du Cange, Gloss. Tom. III. col. 423.

‡ Thrice in my arms I strove her shade to bind,
Thrice thro' my arms she slipt like empty wind,
Or dreams, the vain illusions of the mind."
Pope's Transl. Odyss. XI., 248.

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covered the living body. There are several proofs of this in the eleventh book of the Odyssey,* and in the Iliad the shade or image of Patroclus is thus described:—

"When lo! the shade, before his closing eyes,
Of sad Patroclus rose, or seem'd to rise,
In the same robe he living wore, he came,
In stature, voice, and pleasing look the same."†

Both poets and philosophers believed that the empty shade was actuated by the same desires and passions as had influenced the living body,‡ and the poets feigned that it was pleased with sacrifices and *drank the real blood of the victims*, which brought it to earthly recollections:—

"While yet he spoke, the prophet I obey'd,
And in the scabbard, plung'd the glittering blade,
Eager he quaff'd the gore." *Pope's Od.* XI. v. 122.

It is not, therefore, very extraordinary that the vulgar should imagine that ghosts were capable of enjoying the dainties which pleased them when living. Probably to this notion we owe the horrible superstition of the *Goule* of the East, and the *Vampyre* of Hungary.§

The younger Pliny tells an adventure of the philosopher Athenodorus, which seems to have been the foundation of innumerable ghost-stories, and which may be briefly stated as a further illustration of the gross conceptions of antiquity:—There was at Athens a large and commodious house which lay under the disrepute of being haunted. In the dead of the night, a noise resembling the clashing of iron was frequently heard, which, if you listened more attentively, sounded like the rattling of chains. First it

* In Dr. Falconer's Dissert. on the Elysian Fields of Antiquity, in Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, Vol. I., p. 36, &c. Journal Britannique, Tom. XVIII, p. 384, &c.

† Iliad. XXIII. 78, *Pope's Transl.*

‡ ——— "Curæ non ipsa in morte relinquunt." *Virg. Æn.* VI., 444.

§ For an account of the Vampyre, See Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, Vol. II. p. 19; Vol. III., p. 520.

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BOOK II.

St. David.

seemed distant but approached nearer by degrees, till a spectre appeared in the form of an old man, extremely meagre and ghostly, with a long beard and dishevelled hair, rattling the chains on his feet and hands. The house was at last abandoned to the ghost, until Athenodorus heard the account. He took the house, and the ghost appeared to him in the night, rattling his chains and beckoning him with his finger. The philosopher followed it with a light in his hand to the yard of the house, where the spectre vanished. On digging up the spot where the ghost disappeared, the skeleton of a man in chains was found. The remains were buried, and the ghost disturbed the house no more.*

The name originally given to the festival of St. Peter's Banquets,† bore too minute a reference to the Heathen rites, which it was intended to supersede, and was, therefore, commuted to its present appellation.

St. David's Day.

The first of March among the Romans, was called *Kalenda Femineæ*, from a custom of making presents to women on this day, mentioned by Juvenal.‡ In the Christian world, it is *St. David's Day*,§ and is annually observed in London by the charitable society of Ancient Britons, who were established in 1714, in behalf of the Welch Charity School in Gray's-Inn-road. On this occasion each man wears an artificial leek in his hat. In the fifteenth century, the celebration of St. David's day was honored with the patronage of royalty, and numerous entries of payments, such as the following, are recorded in the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Seventh," a monarch whose liberality is not proverbial:—

"Mar. 1, (1492). Walshemen on Saint David Day, £2."

"Mar. 6, (1494). To the Walshemen towardes their feste, £2."‖

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* Plin. Epist. Lib. VII., Ep. 27, where it is related at considerable length.

† Gloss. *Festum Sancti Petri Epularum.*

‡ See Pancirol. de Rebus Memor. et Deperd. p. I., tit. 64, et Salmuth Comm. p. 347.

§ Gloss. *Sancti Davidis Episcopi Festum.*

‖ Excerpta Historica, pp. 88, 97. The king seems to have had a par-

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St. David. Leek.

The origin of the custom of wearing the leek on this day has been referred to St. David himself, who was bishop of Meney between 519 and 544. Under his military conduct, the Welsh are said to have obtained a memorable victory over the Saxons, and the use of the leek, on that occasion, produced the annual custom of wearing it in the hat, according to the lines, quoted by Dr. Forster:—

> "In Cambria, 'tis said, tradition's tale
> Recounting, tells how famed Menevia's priest
> Marshalled his Britons, and the Saxon host
> Discomfited, how the green leek the bands
> Distinguished, since by Britons yearly worn,
> Commemorates their tutelary saint."*

Another poet, Dr. Southey, receives the victory thus achieved as an indubitable fact, but converts the leek into St. David's crest:—

> ——"And if that in thy veins
> Flow the pure blood of Britain, sure that blood
> Hath flow'd with quicker impulse at the tale
> Of David's deeds, when thro' the press of war
> His gallant comrades followed his green crest
> To conquest."†

One thing is certain, which is, that the custom is as old as the time of Shakspeare, whose Captain Fluellin gives an account of it fully as satisfactory as the preceding:—

"If your majesties is remembered of it, the Welshmen did goot service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth Caps; which your majesty knows is an honorable padge of service; and, I believe, your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon St. Tavy's Day.‡

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tiality for Welsh poets and harpers. In the year 1495, we find an entry,

"Feb. 20, To a Walshman for making a ryme, 10s." p. 101.

"Jan. 7, (1497). To a Walsheman that maketh rymes, 6s. 8d." p. 111.

"April 3, To a Walshe rymer in rewarde, 13s. 4d." Ibid.

(1501). To a Walshe Harper in rewarde, 6s. 8d." p. 124.

"Feb. 19, (1497). To the grete Walshe childe, 6s. 8d." p. 111.

This was probably some itinerant prodigy of a fat child.

* Perennial Calendar, p. 85.

† Inscription for a Monument in the Vale of Ewias.

‡ Henry V. Act. iii., sc. 7.——Act. V., sc. 1.

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BOOK II.

St. David.

Dr. Owen Pughe, the British lexicographer, differing from his martial countryman, supposes that the custom originated in the *Cymmortha*, still observed in Wales, in which the farmers reciprocate assistance in ploughing their land, when every one contributes his leek to the common repast.

The publication of Mr. W. Howell's "Cambrian Superstitions," in 1832, elicited an explanation of the custom, which instructs us to be cautious in admitting the authority of poets and antiquaries.—"The Welsh in olden days were so infested by Ourang Outangs, that they could obtain no peace by night nor day, and not being themselves able to extirpate them, they invited the English, who came, but through some mistake, killed several of the Welsh themselves, so that in order to distinguish them from the monkeys, they desired them at last to stick leeks in their hats."

Professor Dalzell quotes, in illustration of a verse in Theocritus,* a curious passage from Bingley's "Tour round Wales:"—"When any person supposes himself highly injured, it is not uncommon for him to repair to some church, dedicated to a celebrated saint, as Llan Flian, in Anglesea, and Clynog, in Caernarvonshire, and there, as it is termed, *offer his enemy*. He kneels down on his bare knees in the church, and offering a piece of money to the saint, utters the most virulent imprecations, calling down curses and misfortunes upon the offender and his family for generations to come." It is singular that nearly the same "Offering" was made upon the altars of ancient Greece. In Wales it is called *Offrwm Gelyn*.

Offering Enemies in Greece and Wales.

St. Patrick's Day.

As the leek proclaims the prowess of the ancient Britons in battle, so the shamrock, worn on *St. Patrick's Day*,†

* Id. II., v. 3. Ὡς τὸν ἐμοὶ βαρὺν ἐόντα, κ. τ. λ. "Ut virum dilectum nunc mihi gravem immolem, *vel* mactem, *vel* deo alicui offerendum curem." *Analect. Græc. Major. t.* II., *p.* 216.

† Gloss. *Depositio Sancti Patricii.*

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March 17, by the Irishman, commemorates the proficiency of his ancestors in the abstrusities of theology:—"When the saint," says Brand, "preached the gospel to the pagan Irish, he illustrated the doctrine of the trinity by showing them a trefoil, or three-leaved grass with one stalk: this operating to their conviction, the shamrock, which is a bundle of this grass, was ever afterwards worn upon this Saint's anniversary to commemorate the event." This account, to say the least of it, is unsatisfactory. The amusement, which the anecdote was not intended by its relator to furnish, may be extracted from the grave credulity, which admits the efficacy of a theological argument among the Irish of the fifth century, advanced by a saint, whose existance is no less problematical than that of the Welsh Ouran Outangs. Ledwich has proved that St. Patrick never existed out of legends;* and Faber finds that he is the *Nuh Patur*, of the Chaldaic oracles, translated *Nus Patricus*, or the *liberated Noah*,† and is consequently referred by him to the Arkite rites for an origin. The last author notices the appellation of Patareus, given by Horace to Apollo,‡ and considers the purgatory of St. Patric as no other than an Irish Mithratic or Cabiric grotto.§

St. Patrick

Shamrock.

Purgatory and Mithratic Caverns.

Among the Persians, the Sun was named Mithras,‖ and considered as the universal father. Traces of caverns sacred to the Sun are found, according to Faber, wherever the solar worship idolatry, or as he pleases to term it, the Helio-arkite worship, prevailed; and, from the dedication of the first formed subterranean temple of Mithras, by Zoroaster, were thence called *Mithratic Caverns* or *Grottoes*. They were also denominated *Nymphea, Antra Nympha-*

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* Antiq. Irel. p. 362-378. Faber.

† Mysteries of the Cabiri, Vol. II., pp. 152,3,-392-400.

‡ From Patara, a town of Lycia, which seems to take its name from the same root as Patur (Herod. Lib. 1., cap. 182.) *Ibid. p.* 152.

§ Ibid. p. 392., p. 395-398.

‖ Μιθρας, ὁ ἡλιος ὠαρα Περσαις. Hesych. Lexic. "Soli invicto Mithræ." Inscrip. apud Martian. Capell. Lib. III. *Faber*, II., 371.

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BOOK II.

St. Patrick

rum, or Caves of the Nymphs. Homer's description* of one of them is thus translated by Pope:—

"High at the head, a branching olive grows,
And crowns the pointed cliffs with shady boughs.
Beneath, a gloomy grotto's cool recess
Delights the Nereids of the neighbouring seas;
Where bowls and urns were form'd of living stone,
And massy beams in native marble shone;
On which the labours of the Nymphs were roll'd,
Their webs divine of purple mix'd with gold.
Within the cave the clustering bees attend
Their waxen works, or from the roof depend,†
Perpetual waters o'er the pavement glide;
Two marble doors unfold on either side;
Sacred the south, by which the gods descend,
But mortals enter at the northern end."

Among the ancient mythologists, according to Porphyry,‡ a cave was symbolical of the world; the exterior part representing the surface of the earth, and the hollow interior the great central cavity. He further states that streams of water were introduced into the Nymphean, or Mithratic cave, in allusion to the whole body of waters, which proceed from the bowels of the earth. Deriving his information from Eusebius, he continues, "Zoroaster consecrated a natural cavern decked with flowers and watered with fountains in the mountains adjacent to Persia, to Mithras, the creator and universal father, with the design to symbolize the world by this grotto, which he divided geometrically to represent the seasons, imitating on a small scale the order and disposition of the universe by Mithras. After Zoroaster it became customary to consecrate caverns sometimes natural, sometimes artificial, for the celebration of mysteries." Without following him through the examples, which he adduces, of caverns of this kind, an abridg-

Zoroaster's symbolical Grotto.

* Odyss. xiii., v. 102. Αυταρ επι κραος, κ. τ. λ.

† The sacred character of bees and honey has been slightly noticed in the account of the *Saturnalitia*, p. 108.

‡ De Antro Nympharum.

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St. Patrick

ment of Mr. Faber's account of the purgatory of St. Patrick will further corroborate the existence of this kind of idolatry in the British Isles. It is a small artificial cavern, built upon the small Island of Macra in Lough Derg, in the Southern part of Donegal. The shape somewhat resembles an L and it is formed by two parallel walls covered with large stones and sods upon a floor of natural rock. Its length is sixteen feet and a half, its width two feet, and its height is insufficient to allow a tall man to stand in it erect. Around it are erected seven chapels, of which four are dedicated to St. Patrick, St. Bridget, St. Columba, and St. Molass. The purgatory was once called *Uamh Treibb Oin*, or the Cave of the Tribe of Oin, and received its name from a person of the name of Oin or Owen* who entered into it and there beheld the joys of Elysium and the pains of Tartarus, as related by Matthew Paris, and Henry, a Cistertian monk. The latter adds that Christ appeared to St. Patrick, and leading him to a deep hole in a desert place informed him that whoever entered into that pit, and continued there a day and night, should be purged from all his sins, and he further added that during the penitent's abode there, he should behold both the torments of the damned and the joys of the blessed.† St. Patrick immediately built a church upon the place and fixed in it a College of regular canons of St. Austin.‡

Patrick's Purgatory

Owen's Cave.

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* "Vallancey, Collect. de Reb. Hibern. Vol. IV., p. 74, Pref."

† Mr. Thoms quotes an account of the purgatory from a MS. preserved at Paris, which does not promise much personal satisfaction to the beholder:—

"Ki de cel lui revenuz est,
Nule riens jamès ne li plest
En cest siècle, ne jamès jur,
Ne rira, mis adès en plur;
Et gemissent les mans qui sunt
Et les pechiez ke les genz funt."

Lays and Legends of Ireland, Introd. p. viii.—Mr. Thoms also mentions a MS. romance of the Vision of "Owen Myles" in the Cotton Library. Myles is probably "miles," a knight, See *St. James.*

‡ "Ledwich's Antiq. of Ireland, p. 446."

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BOOK II.

St. Patrick

The purgatory, a Cabiric Grotto

"Such" says Mr. Faber, "is the legendary history of St. Patric's purgatory; concerning which I will venture to assert, that it was nothing more than a Mithratic or Cabiric grotto, and that the whole fable respecting it is a mere adaptation of the ancient orgies to the Christianity of the church of Rome. As to the cavern itself, its narrow winding passage, and its terrific pit, will naturally recal to mind the cave of Trophonius;* while the dreadful portents, which gleamed before the eyes of Owen, will remind him of the wonders of the Eleusinian orgies.—The whole process, through which the epoptæ passed, is minutely described by Virgil in the sixth book of his Eneid; whence we learn that the Mysteries successively exhibited the horrors of Tartarus, and the joys of Elysium.—Precisely similar to those were the scenes, which the intrepid Owen is said to have beheld in the purgatory of St. Patric.—Owen in short

* "Trophonius is said to have been nursed by Ceres-Europa; and he had a consecrated grove near the city Orchomenus, and in it a famous oracular cavern. Upon the bank of the adjacent river stood a small temple of the nymph Hercyna, who was worshipped in conjunction with him, and who was supposed to have been the companion of Proserpine. Near the river was also a tumulus, said to be the monument of Arcesilaus; and a chapel, dedicated to Ceres-Europa. Within the cavern were statues of Trophonius and Hercyna, holding in their hands rods, around which serpents were intwined. Not far from the oracle was a statue of Jupiter Pluvius: and, upon the summit of the hill, a temple of Apollo; another of Proserpine, and Jupiter; and a third of Juno, Jupiter and Saturn. The rivulet itself was named Hercyna; and the cavern, which Pausanias informs us, was artificial, was so contrived, that the stream flowed out of it. When any person wished to consult the oracle, he was first washed in this consecrated water—and then directed to drink of the streams of Lethe and Mnemosyne; the first of which removed from his recollection all profane thoughts, and the second enabled him to remember whatever he might see in the cave. Afterwards, he was conducted to the mouth of the cave, which was shaped like an oven, being extremely narrow and steep; and the method of descending into it was by means of a small ladder. At the bottom he found another cave; the entrance into which was yet more strait than the former.—Here he beheld such visions, and heard such voices, as seemed best to the tutelary deity of the place. Paus. Bœot. p. 784-792."—*Faber, Vol.* II., *p.* 375-378.

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was no other than the great god of the Ark; and the same as Oan,* Oannes, Vandimon, or Dagon: hence we find him mentioned by Bede near five centuries before the era, in which Matthew Paris flourished. After the Irish had been some ages converted to semichristianity, the real character of Owen was gradually forgotten, but the old traditions concerning him were faithfully handed down; till at length he was erected into a saint, and his oracular cavern metamorphosed into St. Patric's purgatory."†

Midlent.

Arriving now at the time of the vernal equinox, it will be proper to notice some of the customs and superstitions attendant on the moveable Feasts which depend upon Easter, as the last depends upon the first full moon after the equinox. Shrove Tuesday and the commencement of Lent have been inserted under the month of February, although they may fall as late as the 9th and 10th of March. The first *Midlent Sunday* may fall on March 1, and the last on April 14. This Sunday has a variety of names allusive to peculiar rites and popular customs, formerly observed on this day, some of which are not yet entirely obsolete.‡

In many parts of England, it is still a custom among servants, apprentices and others to carry presents to their parents on Midlent Sunday. This custom is called Going a Mothering, and originated in the offerings made on this day at the mother church. The offerings as well as the day were named from the hymn *Lætare Jerusalem.* Connected with this name is a story of the celebrated Gerebert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II, whose learning, and genius for mechanical inventions acquired him a reputation for necromancy in the latter end of the tenth century. "Addic-

Midlent Sunday.

Lætare Jerusalem.

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* *Owen, Oin,* and *Oan,* are all the same appellation.

† Vol. II., ch. X., p. 392-397.

‡ *Braggot Sunday; Dominica de Fontanis; Dom. de Panibus; Dom. Refectionis; Dom. de Rosa; Dom. Jerusalem; Lætare Jerusalem; Mediana Quadragesima; Les Pains; Mothering, Refreshment, Rose, Simlin Sunday; Quadraginta; Rosa Aurea. &c.*

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BOOK II.

Midlent.

ted," says the historian, "to the sacrilegious arts of magic, he questioned a brazen head as to the time of his death. The oracle responded, 'When thou shalt celebrate mass in Jerusalem.' Confiding in the prediction, and believing that he should never behold the holy city, he began to live as if he were never to die. But he, deserving to be deceived by the demon, knew not that there was a church at Rome, called Jerusalem, where the Roman pontiff celebrates divine service every year on the sunday, named Lætare Jherusalem."* Of course on becoming Pope, he verified the prediction. Shakspeare seems to have employed this legend: in the Second part of King Henry VII, the dying Monarch inquires: —

> "Does any name particular belong
> Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?
> *War.*—'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord.
> *K. Hen.*—Laud be to God!—Even there my life must end.
> It hath been prophecied to me many years,
> I should not die but in Jerusalem;
> Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land:—
> But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Henry die."†

Braggot.

A sort of spiced ale called *Braggot* is used in many parts of Lancashire on these visits of relations, whence the day is there called *Braggot Sunday*. Wotton traces this word to the ancient British *Bragawd*, now called *Bracket*;‡ and Whitaker shows that spiced ale was denominated by the Saxons, British or Welsh Ale.§ At Bury, in that county, Midlent Sunday is a perfect jubilee, and is there named *Simbellin Sunday*, which has been supposed to be a corruption of *Simnelling* from *Simnel*, a cake. Thus Herrick, referring to the custom in Gloucestershire says:—

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* Gul. Neubrig. Lib. V., cap. 6. The abbot of St. Peterborough relates it somewhat differently, *Annal. S. Petriburgi, ad An.* 1100; and William of Malmsbury tells it of a Pope John.

† Act IV., sc. 4.

‡ Cyfreithjeu Hywel Dha, p. 558.

§ Hist. Manch. Vol. II., p. 265.—So early as the reign of Ina the tenants

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"I'le to thee a simnell bring
'Gainst thou go'st a *mothering*;
So that when she blesseth thee
Half that blessing thou'lt give me."

Care Sunday.

Instead, however, of taking the simnels to Bury, they are fetched away by the people, who resort to the town from all parts of the country. The cakes are immensely large, some above two feet in diameter, and exceedingly rich with spicery.*

Simnels.

The proximate origin of these customs has been noticed; the festivities by which they were accompanied, are relics of the *Hilaria*, celebrated by the ancient Romans at the Vernal Equinox March 25, in honor of the mother of the Gods.

Hilaria.

Care Sunday, the ancient *Passion Sunday*, is the fifth Sunday after Shrove Tuesday. The word *Care*, which is also applied to Christmas cakes, has been a stumbling block to etymologists. T. Mareschall observes that the day on which Christ suffered, is called in German both *Gute Freytag* and *Karr Freytag*, and that *Karr* signified

Care Sunday.

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of the crown were bound to furnish annually a quantity of pylrcep ealoð, Welsh Ale, and of common ale. Ll. cap. 70. The word implying common ale is hluttep, pure or unmingled. The Welsh Ale appears to have retained its consequence for more than a century afterwards; one of the estates of the abbey of Medeshamstede being required to send every year 60 loads of wood, six loads of peat, two tuns of common ale, tpa tunnan pulle hlutnep aloð, and ten kilderkins of Bragawd or Welsh ale, ten mittan pælrcep aloð.—*Chron. Saxon. ad An.* 852.

* Frequent mention is made of the simnel in the Household allowances of Henry the First. "Cancellarius. v solidos in die et i Limivellum Dominicum, et ii salum, et i sextarium de vino claro, et i sext. de vino expensabili, et unum grossum cereum, et xl. frusta Candell."—*Libr. Nigr. Scaccarii, p.* 341. The "Siminellum Dominicum," Hearne thinks was a better kind of bread; and that "Siminellum Salum," from pal, cibus, victus, was the ordinary bread; if it be not the Latin *Salis* (Siminellum Salinum) in which case it denotes that more salt is contained in it than in the other. If the derivation from simnel be not satisfactory, perhaps the Anglo Saxon pymbel, a feast or banquet whence pimbel dæg, a festival day, may suffice.

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BOOK II.

Care Sunday.

a satisfaction for a fine or penalty.* Adelung speaking of *Charfreytag (Care* or *Carr Friday)* and *Charwoche (Care* or *Carr Week)* observes that the first syllable is supposed to be the old *Cara*, preparation, *(Zubereitung)*, and that this week, conformably to the usage of the Jews, was called *Preparation Week*, (Zubereitungswoche) because the sixth day was *Preparation Day* (Zubereitungstag) when the Jews prepared themselves for Easter. Hence the Greeks called Carfriday, *Dies Parasceves*, of which the Gothic *Gartag*, or *Garfreytag* is a translation. Tatian, cap. 58, names the Friday before Easter, "Garotag fora Ostrun," and renders the phrase, "My heart is prepared "Karo ist mein herza." Schilter's opinion, however, that *Char*, *Kar*, signifies mourning, complaint, sorrow, has equal probability; for it appears from ancient manuscripts, that *Car* formerly bore the signification of *Care* or grief; and in Sweden, where the fifth Sunday in Lent is denominated *Kaersunnutag*, the verb *Kaera* is actually, to lament, to complain. Dr. Jamieson, adopting the opinion of Mareschall, observes, "This name may have been imposed in reference to the satisfaction made by our Saviour. Some, however, understand it as referring to the accusations brought against him on this day, from the Sueo-Gothic *Kaera*, to complain."† It is observable that the celebrated Ælfric, in his directions to the Saxon priests for their conduct on this day, employs the Greek name *Parasceve*, though writing in his vernacular idiom,‡ and though the term Geaꝛcunꝛ bæꝛ, bears the same meaning, a day of preparation.

The Church of Rome formerly celebrated services on this day, which properly belonged to Good Friday, whence the name *Passion Sunday*. On this day, in the northern counties, and in Scotland, a custom obtains of eating *Car-*

* Observ. in Vers. Anglo-Sax. N. Test. p. 536. *Brand. Jamieson.*

† Etymol. Dict. art. *Care Sunday.*

‡ Tiber. A. III., fo. 104. *Bibl. Cott. MSS.*

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lings, which are grey peas, steeped all night in water, and fried the next day with butter:—

Care Sunday.
Carlings.

"There 'll be all the lads and lasses
Set down in the midst of the ha',
With sybows, and ryfarts, and carlings
That are both sodden and raw."*

Mr. Hone preserves an account of the conviction of two foot-pads at the Northumberland assizes, in August, 1825, for "robbing Thomas Hindmarsh of his watch, on Sunday the 20th of March last. It appeared that Hindmarsh, who lived near Shields, had been to Newcastle on Carling Sunday, a day so called because it is the custom of the lower orders in the North of England to eat immense quantities of small peas, called carlings, fried in butter, pepper, and salt, on the second Sunday before Easter, and that on his way home, his watch was snatched from him."† *Anecdote.*

As to the origin of this custom, of which this conviction proves the existence, and surmises that it is attended by drinking, Mr. Brand offers the following explanation:—"In the Roman Calendar, I find it observed on this day, that a dole is made of *Soft beans*. I can scarcely entertain a doubt, that our custom is derived from hence. It was usual among the Romanists to give away beans in the doles at funerals: it was also a rite in the funeral ceremonies of heathen Rome. Why we have substituted peas, I know not, unless it was because they are a pulse somewhat fitter to be eaten at this season of the year." Having observed from Erasmus, that Plutarch held pulse, *legumina*, to be of the highest efficacy in invocations of the *manes*, he adds;—"Ridiculous and absurd as these superstitions may appear, it is quite certain that *Carlings* deduce their origin from thence."‡

Notwithstanding this strongly expressed opinion, the explanation is not deemed satisfactory. Skelton says that

* Ritson's Scottish Songs, Vol. I., p. 211.
† E. Day Book, Vol. I., col. 1070.
‡ Pop. Antiq. Vol. I., p. 98-99.

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BOOK II.

Care Sunday. Lenten Food.

the laity alleged against the monks of his time, numerous infractions of canonical regulations for the observance of Lent:—

"This they make their bost,
Through every cost,
Fesaunte patriche and cranes,
* * * * ***
Nor in holy Lenton seson
How some of you do eat
In Lenton season mete.
Ye wil neither beanes ne peason
But ye looke to be let loose
To a pygge or a goose."*

Lady Clare, grand-daughter of Edward the First, bequeaths in the year 1355, sixty-one quarters of beans, peas and *vetches* for the season of Lent;† and Palsgrave is said to have this phrase, "I parche pesyn as folkes use in Lent." It is not unlikely that peas cooked with butter and pepper as above described, were used on this day as a more epicurean dish than parched peas, the ordinary food of the laborer in winter.

Neither "lerned ne lewde," clerke nor layman, relished the hard fare of the hermit in the fourth century,‡ and many risked the censure of the church by indulging in forbidden food. Strype records in his Memorials, that a man did penance at St. Paul's Cross in 1555, for attempting to sell two pigs ready dressed during the fast. There is extant a letter from the Lords of the Council to the Sheriffs of the protestant queen Elizabeth, dated 10th February, 1586, and directing that "as the last yeare by her Ma^ties^ speciall comandm^t^ there were verie good orders devysed and sett downe to the several counties for the better obseruinge of the restraint of killinge, vtteringe and eatinge of fleshe in the tyme of Lente, and other prohibited dayes, soe her Ma^tie^ contynuinge her princelie care for the publicke welthe of all her subiectes hath geven vs expresse comandement to recomende unto you againe for this yeare the due observac'on of their abovesaid orders." The reason alleged is "the great mor-

* Boke of Colyn Clout; Southey's Poets, p. 62.

† "De feves, pois et vesces pur la seson qaremele lxi quartres." *Nichols, Royal Wills*, p. 34.

‡ "Jejunia eremi saxa." *Prudentius.*

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talitye of the sheepe and other kynde of great cattle generally almost throwghout the Realme," besides dearth of other kynde of victualles.*

Palm Sunday.

Among the recreations of the Londoners in the reign of Henry II, we are told by the contemporary writer William Stephanides or Fitz Stephen, that during Lent they had military exercises on horseback, armed with shields and pointless lances, in West Smithfield, the Campus Martius of our ancestors.

Palm Sunday.

Palm Sunday,† following Care or Carling Sunday, receives its English and the greater part of its Foreign names, from the custom of bearing palm branches, in commemoration of those which were strewn in the path of Christ on his entry into Jerusalem. "It is a custom among churchmen," says the author of a Normanno-Saxon homily in the reign of Henry II, or Richard I, "to go in procession on this day." The custom has its origin in the holy procession which our Saviour made to the place, where he chose to suffer death.‡ Anciently it was usual to resort to *Our Lady of Nantswell*, at Little Conan in Cornwall, with a cross of Palm; and the people after making the priest a present, were allowed to throw the cross into the well; if it swam, the thrower was to outlive the year; if it sank, he was to die. According to Stowe, in the week before Easter there were great shows in London for going into the woods, and fetching into the King's house, a twisted tree or *Withe*; and the like in the house of every man of consequence. In many parts of England, this day is still celebrated by bearing palm-boughs; but in northern

* Harl. MSS. Codex, 1926. fo. 74 b.

† Βαιοφορος, ramifera; *Broncheria; Capitilavium; Dies Osanna; Dies Palmarum; Dies Ramorum; Domine, ne longe; Dominica ad Palmas; Dominica Indulgentiæ; Dom. in Ramis Palmarum; Dom. Olivarum; Dom. Osannæ; Dominica Magna; La Feste des Palmes; Festum Broncheriæ; Festum Palmarum; Isti sunt dies; Dominica*, and *Pascha Competentium; Pascha Floridum; Pascha Florum; Pascha Petitum; Pasques Flories; Rami Palmarum, &c.*

‡ Hickes, Thesaur. Tom. II., p. 170.

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BOOK II.

latitudes, the box, the olive, and the blooming willow are used as substitutes for palm. At Filey, in Yorkshire, "figs are eaten on this day in memory probably of our Saviour's cursing the barren fig-tree.* Fuller quotes from Stathom, a lawyer in the reign of Henry the Sixth, a story of a miller of Matlock, who took for the toll twice, because he heard the rector of the parish read twice on Palm Sunday, "Tolle, tolle," i. e. crucify him, crucify him.† On this day was held the *Feast of the She Ass*, upon which Christ sitting was worshipped by the people.‡

Palm Sunday.

At Hundon, in Lincolnshire, there is still annually practised on this day a remarkable custom, called *Gad Cracking*, from the Saxon ȝaaƀ, a goad or whip, which is fully explained in the following petition, presented to the House of Lords in May, 1836, by the lord of the manor; but without effect, as the ceremony was repeated in 1837:—

Gad Cracking in Church.

"TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

Sir C. E. Smith's Petition.

The petition of the undersigned Sir Culling Eardley Smith, of Bedwell-park, in the county of Hertford,

Sheweth,—That your petitioner is lord of the manor of Hundon, near Caistor, in the county of Lincoln.

That the lord of the manor of Broughton, near Brigg, in the same county, yearly, on Palm Sunday, employs a person to perform the following ceremony in the parish church of Caistor:—A cart-whip of the fashion of several centuries since, called a gad-whip, with four pieces of wyche-elm bound round the stock, and a leathern purse attached to the extremity of the stock, containing thirty pence, is, during divine service, cracked in the church-porch; and, while the second lesson is reading, is brought into the church, and held over the reading-desk by the person who carries it. It is afterwards deposited with the tenant of Hundon.

That the performance of this superstitious ceremony is utterly inconsistent with a place of Christian worship.

That it is generally supposed that it is a penance for murder, and that, in the event of the performance being neglected, the lord of the manor of Broughton would be liable to a penalty to the lord of the manor of Hundon.

That your petitioner being extremely anxious for the discontinuance of this indecent and absurd practice, applied to the lord of the manor of Broughton for that purpose; who declined entering into any negotiation

* Cole, Hist. Antiq. Filey, p. 135, 1826, 8vo.

† Worthies, Vol. I., p. 256.

‡ Fosbrooke, Brit. Monach. p. 87.

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until the deed should be produced under which the ceremony was instituted, which deed (if it has ever existed) your petitioner is unable to produce.

That your petitioner subsequently applied to the Bishop of Lincoln to use his influence to prevent the repetition of the ceremony, and offered to guarantee the churchwardens against any loss in consequence of their refusal to permit it.

That your petitioner believes there are no trustees of a Dissenting chapel who would permit the minister or officers of their chapel to sanction such a desecration.

That the ceremony took place, as usual, on Palm Sunday, in this year.

Your petitioner therefore prays that your lordships will be pleased to ascertain from the bishop of the diocese why the ceremony took place; that, if the existing law enables any ecclesiastical persons to prevent it, the law may be hereafter enforced; and that, if the present law is insufficient, a law may be passed enabling the bishop to interfere for the purpose of saving the national church from scandal.

And your petitioner will ever pray."

Maundy Thursday

Maundy Thursday, Mandati Dies,* the day before Good Friday, when, says Jacob, is commemorated and practised the command of our Saviour in washing the feet of the poor. This ceremony first commenced in 1362, and for a long time the kings of England observed the custom on that day of washing the feet of a number of poor men, equal to the years of their reign, and giving them shoes, stockings and money.† On these occasions a particular robe was worn by the chief actor.‡ There are several entries for the Maundy in the "Privy Purse expenses of Henry the Seventh;" as in 1496,

Maundy.

> "April 10, For botehire for the Maundy and the kinges robe, payed by John Flee, 4s."§

Nichols has the copy from the original "Warraunte to the Great Wardrobe for her Majesties Mawndye," in 1579-80.‖

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* *Maundy Thursday; Chare, Schir, and Shere Thursday; Cœna Domini; Dies Viridum; Der Grüne Donnerstag; Festum Eucharistæ, &c.*

† Law Dict. art. *Maundy Thursday.*

‡ A mourning robe. *Northumberl. Household Book*, p. 355.

§ Excerpta Historica.

‖ Pref. to Royal Progresses, Vol. III., p. xi.

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Maundy Thursday. Maundy Money.

The custom originated in the monasteries and is there of very great antiquity: Matthew Paris mentions Maundy Money* and the Benedictional of archbishop Robert at Rouen, a manuscript of the tenth century, *cap.* xxix. contains a "Benedictio ad Mandatum ipso die;"† and Wlnothus, abbot of St. Albans, ordained a daily performance of the mandate.‡ In other houses, it was customary to wash the feet of as many poor people as there were monks in the convent on Holy Thursday, and on Saturday before Palm Sunday; the day of the latter ablution received the name of *Mandatum Pauperum*, to distinguish it from the *Mandati Dies*. During the ceremony the whole choir chaunted the words of Christ "Mandatum novum do vobis,"§ a new commandment I give unto you. Du Cange quotes from the Life of St. Brigida by Chilienus:—

> "Proxima cœna fuit domini, qua sancta solebat
> Mandatum Christi calido complere lavacro."‖

Archdeacon Nares, however, apparently following Spelman and Skinner, whose opinion is adopted by Junius, in opposition to Minshew, says that this day "is so named from the *Maunds*, in which the gifts were contained," and he maintains that *maund* is a corruption of the Saxon *mand* a basket. The glossariographer on Matthew Paris, explains the word *mandatum*, to be Alms from the Saxon *Mandye*, charity; Somner has no such word in his Dictionary; and it seems more probable that Maundy Thursday has originally been Mandate Thursday; *Mandati Dies* being the name where the Saxon *mands* were totally unknown. Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, having employed

* "Eleemosynam Mandati nummis ampliavit, in numismate singulis pauperibus erogando." *In Vitis Abbatum, p.* 80.

† Archæologia, Vol. XXIV., p. 119.

‡ "Hic Wlnothus ut in Eleemosynaria commorarentur, et Mandatum more facerent quotidiano regulariter ordinavit. *Mat. Paris. in Vitis Abb. p.* 24.

§ S. Augustin. Ep. CXIX., cap. 18. Du Cange.

‖ Du Cange, Gloss. Tom. IV., col. 399.

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the Latin name of this day, Cœna Domini, gives these directions to the Saxon priests. "On Thursday you shall wash the altars before you celebrate mass, otherwise you must not. After Vespers you must uncover the altars and let them remain bare until Saturday, washing them in the interior. You shall then fast until nones *Imple mandata domini in cena ipsius*, Do on Thursday as our lord commands you; wash the feet of the poor, feed and clothe them; and with humility, wash your feet among yourselves as Christ himself did, and commanded us so to do.* On the whole there seems to be no reason to doubt that the name *maundy* is derived from the mandate obeyed on this day.

Maundy Thursday.

The bread given to the poor on Maundy Thursday was named mandate bread *mandati panes*, in the monasteries; as the coin given was called maundate money, as we have just seen in the old historian of England. In compliance with the ancient custom, Henry the Seventh, being thirty-eight years old, gave thirty-eight coins and thirty-eight small purses to as many poor people, the king being then in 1494, thirty-eight years of age;—

Maundy Loaves.

"Mar. 25, To thirty-eight poer men in almes £6. 0. 4d.
For thirty-eight smale purses, 1s. 8d.‡

The author of a manuscript homily, about the age of Edward IV, is opposed to archdeacon Nares, and calls the day "*Cristes Maundy*," for the following reason: "This day is called *Schir Thursday*, or ellis the day of Cristes Maundy, that is Maundy Thursday; for that day sowpide Criste with his Disciples beforne his Passione; ande gafe them there his owne blesside body, his fleshe and blode, vnder the forme of brede and wyne, and after soper, mekely he washede his disciples fete, to shewe example of mekenes. Ande cause whi it is callede Schir Thursday is this: for fa-

Shir Thursday.

* Bibl. Cott. Tib. A. III., fo. 104.
† Excerpta Historica, p. 97.

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ders in olde dayes had in custome or vse for to scheer the heer that day of ande Beredis, and to make them honest withoute, forthe ageynes Estyrne Day."* The name introduced in this extract, Schir, or Shere Thursday is the Sueo-Gothic *Skaertor-tag*, from the verb *skaera*, to purify; and, in fact, Skis Thursday occurs by mistake for Skir Thursday, in a record quoted by Brand.†

Good Friday.

Good Friday.

The term *Good Friday*, is erroneously said to be peculiar to the English church; but it is certainly an adoption of the old German *Gute Freytag*,‡ which may have been a corruption of *Gottes Freytag*, God's Friday, so called on the same principle that Easter Day in England was, at no very remote period, denominated God's Day. In a manuscript homily, entitled "Exortacio in die Pasche," written about the reign of Edward IV, we are told that the Paschal Day "in some place is callede Esterne Day, and in sum place Goddes Day."§ Another MS. quoted by Strutt, says it is called Good Friday, because on this day good men were reconciled to God.‖ The length of the services in ancient times on this day, occasioned it to be called Long Friday, the Lanȝ Fɲiȝbæȝ of the Anglo Saxons, which they probably received from the Danes, by whom at the present time, the day is denominated *Langfreday*.

Adoration of the Cross

A custom of worshipping the cross on this day anciently prevailed in England and France, whence Good Friday was called in Latin, *Veneris Dies Adoratus*, and in French, *Vendredi Adoré*, corrupted into *Verdi Aoré*, and *Verdi Oré*. In a decree of the Parliament of Paris, in 1423, then in possession of the English, the Duke of Bethfort (Bedford) states that in consequence of the absence of the king his nephew, and representing his person, he will on "*le Vendredi Aorné*," exhibit the true cross to the people,

* Harl. MSS. Codex. 2247, fo. 84, b.
† Hist. Newcastle, Vol. II., p. 343.
‡ Adelung, Wörter Buch, *w. Charfreytag.*
§ Harl. MSS. Cod. id. fo. 94.
‖ Horda Angel-Cynna, Vol. III., p. 175.

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according to the custom of the kings of France on this day.* Dr. Percy, in his notes to the Northumberland Household Book, observes that in 1536, when the Convocation under Henry the Eighth abolished some of the old superstitious practices, the custom of saluting the cross on Good Friday, was ordered to be retained as laudable and edifying.

Good Friday.

It has already been noticed that this day was called Care or Carr Friday, which a well informed foreigner, to whose language that appellation is familiar, considers to be a Gothic translation of the Greek Παρασκευη; and it is here named in order to correct a mistake, which would be of no importance had it not been made by the very learned and reverend Dr. Samuel Pegge, who makes Parasceve, Saturday. This name is indeed applied to any Friday in the year,† but never to Saturday. Durandus says, "Ab hac die usque ad Parasceuen opperiunt cruces, et velum ante altare suspendunt,"‡ and Dr. Pegge renders the passage "From this day unto Easter Even, they cover the crosses and hang a veil before the altar."§

Parasceve.

Buns with crosses stamped upon them, and hence called *Cross Buns*, are usually eaten in London and other places on this day at breakfast. In the pharmacopœia of superstition, a cross bun preserved from one good Friday to another will effectually prevent an attack of the hooping cough, on the principle that there is something holy in the house.‖ Bryant, carrying the word bun back to heathenism, says: "The offerings which people in ancient times used to present to the Gods, were generally purchased at the entrance of the temple, especially every species of consecrated bread. One species of consecrated bread which

Cross Buns

* Chronique de Louis XI, p. 146, Menage, p. 38.

† Du Cange, tom. V., col. 163-4. In the Supplement, he quotes a charter of an. 1218, in which this name is given to Thursday in Holy Week.

‡ Ration. Divin. Offic. fo. clxi.

§ Gent. Mag. Nov. 1754, On the word *Brandons*.

‖ Bryant, Analysis, Vol. I., p. 297.

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Good Friday.

used to be offered to the Gods, was of great antiquity and called *Boun.* Hesychius speaks of the *Boun,* and describes it as 'a kind of cake with a representation of two horns.' Julius Pollux mentions it after the same manner, 'a sort of cake with horns.' It must be observed however, as Dr. Jamieson remarks, that the term occurs in Hesychius in the form of βους; and that for the support of the etymon, Bryant finds it necessary to state that the "the Greeks, who changed the *nu* final into a *sigma,* expressed it in the nominative βους, but in the accusative more truly, βουν, boun."* Winckelman relates this remarkable fact, that at Herculaneum were found two entire loaves of the same size, a palm and a half, or five inches in diameter; they were marked by a *cross,* within which were four other lines; and so the bread of the Greeks was marked from the earliest period.† The Romans divided their sacred cakes with lines intersecting each other in the centre at right angles, and called the quarters *quadra*:—

> "Et violare manu, malisque audacibus orbem
> Fatalis crusti, patulis nec parcere quadris."‡
> "Nec te liba juvat nec secta quadra placentæ."§

Ancient uses of the Cross.

It is possible that this custom may have been continued to our times; but it seems more probable that the cross upon the Christian bun is intended to remind the devout of a saviour's sufferings. The cross upon the loaves of Herculaneum, being what the heralds denominate the Cross of St. George, that is, a perpendicular line divided at right angles in the middle, by a horizontal line, seems to have been intended for the purpose of easy and equal division. Long before the cross had become an object of veneration to the Christian world, as symbolical of the sufferings of the redeemer, it had been the hieroglyphic of the phallic

* Supplement, p. 159.
† Fosbrooke, Brit. Monach.
‡ Virg. Æn. Lib. VII., v. 114.
§ Martial. Lib. III. Epig. 76.

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Good Friday.

Taautus, Tant, Thoth, Teut, or Tet, the Maha Deva or Osiris, and its form was communicated to the subterranean temples, in which the Cabiric orgies were celebrated.* According to Mr. Skelton, "In some places, the sign of the cross was given to men accused of a crime, but acquitted; and in Egypt it stood for the sign or signification of eternal life.† As the form of the Taautic cross was that of the letter *Tau*, T, we can scarcely regard the Greek buns as bearing even an indirect allusion to religion; and the marking of buns for the use of Christians on the day of the Passion, need not be explained by a recurrence to ages anterior to Christianity.

"Crosses," say Messrs. Nicholson and Burn, "soon after the establishment of Christianity were put up in most places of public intercourse, to remind the people of the benefit vouchsafed to us by the Cross of Christ. The poor solicited alms at those crosses (as the saying is to this day) *for Christ's sake*; and when a person is urgent and vehement, we say he begged like a cripple at a cross. At those crosses the corps in carrying to church was set down, that all the people attending might pray for the soul of the departed. In perambulating the boundaries of parishes, crosses were erected at certain distances, where the people prayed, and at the same time regaled themselves. We sign children in baptism with the sign of the cross. And in many ancient charters, where a man could not write his name, he put the symbol of the cross; which kind of signature is even yet not out of use.‡ The earliest erection of a cross for secular purposes is, perhaps, that of Oswald, king of Northumbria, to commemorate his victory over Ceadwalla, in 634. A Saxon homily, quoting Beda, says that it was famous for working miracles.§

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* Faber, Vol. II., p. 445.

† Appeal to Common sense, p. 45. Faber, Vol. II., p. 392.

‡ Hist. Westm. and Cumberl. Vol. II., p. 324.

§ Cott. MSS. Cod. Julius E. VII., fo. 151 b.

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Good Friday.

The use of the cross in deeds and charters among the Saxons and Normans has been noticed in the preceding Book.—It was customary to set up crosses in places where the corpse of any person of high rank had rested in its way to the grave, that passengers might there pray for the repose of his soul.* There were several of these crosses erected over England, especially in honor of the resting place of any of our kings on the transportation of their bodies to a distant sepulchre. Such a cross was erected in the village of Charing, on the last spot on which the body of Eleanor, Queen of Edward the First, reposed on its passage to Westminster Abbey, where it lies interred.† Remarkable crosses of this kind were selected in early times for the scene of solemn devotional exercises: the warden and fellows of All Saints, Oxford, were enjoined by the statute of Henry the Sixth, to repair in their collegiate habiliments to the cross on the bridge at Bagley, on all holidays, and on the days appointed for lectures.‡ Shakspeare alludes to the custom of praying at crosses, which had acquired this reputation for sanctity:—

Remarkable Crosses

> "She doth stray about
> By holy crosses, where she kneels and prays
> For happy wedlock hours."§

Anciently, when a felon in sanctuary abjured the realm, he was suffered to depart for the nearest port, and, either as a mark of his condition, or to secure him protection, he bore a cross in his hand.‖ To sustain a spirit of devotion in the people, and to incite them to honesty in their mutual dealings, monuments with crosses upon them were erected

Market Crosses

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* "A transeuntibus pro ejus anima deprecetur." *Thom. Walsingh. Hist.* ad An. 1291.

† *Charing* Cross, as it was erected by Edward, pour sa *chere reine*, has been plausibly derived from the French.

‡ Lib. Nigr. Scaccarii, p. 561.

§ Merchant of Venice, Act V. sc. 1.

‖ Blackstone, Comm. B. IV., p. 332.

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in market, where on Sundays religious plays were performed so lately as the middle of the sixteenth century.*

Good Friday.

The cross, erected or sculptured over the grave, and sometimes placed within it, as in the celebrated tomb of king Arthur, whose "rudis crux plumbea,"† clumsy leaden cross was disinterred at Glastonbury, whatever might be the real intention of the custom, was popularly believed to be for the purpose of repelling the devil or his angels. Hence Dunbar, a Scottish poet, about the period of the spoliation of religious institutions, ridiculing the funeral ceremonies of the Roman Catholics, and burlesquing the style of ancient wills, makes his libertine scholar prefer to have in his grave four flaggons of beer, disposed in the form of a cross, for the purpose of driving off the fiends. The public *odium theologicum* must have been very violent indeed, to tolerate such absurdities as are contained in the "Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy," and the insertion of the introit of the hymn on the resurrection, in the second line of the quotation, is disgustingly wanton:—

Sepulchral Crosses.

"I will no priestis for me to sing
Dies ille, dies iræ;
Nar yet no bellis for me ring
Sicut semper solet fieri;
But a bag-pyp to play a spring
Et unum alewisp ante me,
Instead of torchis, for to bring;
Quatuor lagenas cervisiæ
Within the graif to sett, fit thing
In modum crucis juxta me
To fle the feyndis, &c."‡

Runic Crosses.

This seems to have been the intention of the crosses erected in cemeteries by the Danes both here and in their own country. Two of their crosses, very lofty, curiously carved with chequer work and interlaced foliage, have been

* Warton adduces an instance about the reign of Henry VIII. Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. III., p. 78.

† Camd. Britan. p. 159,160. Edit. 1590, 8vo.

‡ Ap. Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. II., p. 359.

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discovered, one at Beaucastle in Cumberland,* and the other at Lancaster,† both inscribed with the characters of the *Ramruner*, or magical *Runæ*, used in spells and charms. Mr. Keightley relates a story of a Danish imp, who was spell-bound to a stone cross, from which he was utterly unable to deliver himself. The Norwegians, to express their admiration of their great scald, Eyvynd, gave him the singular appellation of the *Cross of Poets*.‡

Good Friday.

Sign of the Cross in Consecration,

As early as the time of Ina, king of the West Saxons, in 688, by a law regulating the judgment by hot iron and water, the priest was required to sign the assistants at the ordeal, with the cross.§ It is not improbable that the same sign was used in the consecration of our early bishops, and we know that it was employed in baptism: with holy oil, says Ælfric to his priests, ye shall mark pagan children, on the breast and between the shoulders, and ye shall work the sign of the cross on their heads with the consecrated chrism.‖ As the coronation of christian monarchs was regarded as a religious ceremony, partaking of the nature of a consecration, it was probably usual to sign them with the cross, and perhaps with holy oil, at an earlier period than the reign of Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, in 752, who is said to have been the first anointed Sovereign in Europe; and Selden, who had seen in an Anglo-Saxon *Pontificale*, the form of anointing the queen after her coronation, considers the custom of greater antiquity in these

and Coronation.

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* Gough's Camden, Vol. III., p. 455.

† Dr. Whitaker, Hist. Richmondsh. Vol. II., p. 229. The inscription upon this cross is incorrectly copied, and consequently the explanation p. 230, is erroneous.

‡ Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. I., Diss. I., sign. f. 2.

§ ⁊ ſylle heom eallum cyſſan boc. ⁊ cnihtes noðe tacn.—*Textus Roffensis*, p. 13.

‖ Wiþ þam halgan ele ge ſceolan þa hæþenan cilð meancian on þam bneoſte. ⁊ betpux ða ſculdna. ge ſceolon pincan noðe tacn on þam heaſðe miþ þam halgan cnihtman.—*Epist. ad Sacerd.* Cott. MSS. *Tiberius A.* III. fo. 103, 103 b.

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Good Friday.

parts than in either France or the Empire. Mr. Banks, author of the 'Extinct Peerage,' gives some interesting particulars of this ceremony in an anonymous work on the minutiæ of the Coronation, from which we shall extract a few passages. From a curious old manuscript on the ancient form of the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of England, he quotes "The Anointing of the King." After the oath, says the writer,

Unction.

"Let the King arise from his chair and go unto the altar, and there shall he put off his robes (except his kirtle and surcoat,) and there let him receive unction, the choir meanwhile singing "*Unxerunt Solomonem,*" with the prayer following. Then let him be anointed in five places, *viz.*—in the palms of his hands, on his breast, between his shoulders, on the blades of his arms, and on his head, with holy oil, in form of a cross; and afterwards making the sign of the cross upon his head with the chrism, the fastenings and mantle being first opened. *Item*—after the aforesaid unction, and wiping with linen cloths (which ought afterwards to be burnt), let the opened places for the anointing be closed again by the abbot of Westminster or his deputy."*

Ampulla.

In the coronation of Charles II., the king, seated in St. Edward's chair, was anointed by the archbishop, while the dean of Westminster held the ampulla, or gold eagle, and poured the oil out into the spoon, first in the palm of both his hands in the manner of a cross, the archbishop as he anointed him, pronouncing a suitable prayer.

* "When the king, in former times touched for the evil, a dispute arose, whether the power of healing was inherent in him *before* or *after* the unction."—*Disquisition on the Right of Succession*, p. 13, Lond. 1818. An opinion was held that since the Reformation, this power, though exercised, has not really existed in our Sovereigns either before or after the unction; for thus argueth logically the Jesuit Del Rio of Salamanca concerning the heretic queen Elizabeth in opposition to William Tooker, who had written to prove that she inherited it with the crown: the power of working miracles is proper to the Catholic Church; but queen Elizabeth is out of the pale of the catholic church, and to none is it given who are out of the catholic church; ergo, it is not given to queen Elizabeth. Again, he says with equal justice and precision, miracles cannot be wrought in confirmation of a false faith; ergo, miracles cannot be wrought in confirmation of the faith which Elizabeth professes.—*Cumberland, Observer*, vol. I. n. 32.

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Good Friday.

Anciently, it appears that only the kings of Jerusalem, France, England, and the Sicilies were anointed. Of the french ampulla, la Sainte Ampoule, or holy vial of Rheims, there is a tradition of long standing, that an angel brought it to St. Remigius to christen Clovis I.; and not to be outdone by our rival neighbours, the ampulla used in the coronation of English sovereigns, is not of a less sacred origin. Mr. Banks says,

Legend of the Ampulla

"The Blessed Virgin (say certain authorities*) gave to Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, when in banishment under Henry the Second, a golden eagle full of precious oil, enclosed in a stone vessel, commanding him to preserve it, and foretelling him, "*quod reges Anglorum qui ungerentur hoc unguento, pugiles essent ecclesiæ, benigni, et terram amissam à parentibus pacificè recuperarent, donec aquilam cum ampulla haberent.*'

"The archbishop (Becket), for safety, left it in a monastery at Poictiers, where Henry the First duke of Lancaster, under Edward the Third, in the wars of France, received it from a holy man, who found it by revelation. The duke gave it to Edward the Black Prince. He sent it to the Tower, there to be kept in a chest strongly hooped with iron. In this place Richard the Second (son of the Black Prince), in searching for his father's jewels found it, and much desired to be anointed with it. But the archbishop answered him, '*Sibi sufficere quòd semel per manus suas sacram suscepit in coronatione pristina unctionem, quæ habere non debuit iterationem.*'

"The king notwithstanding carried it afterwards with him into Ireland; purposing, perhaps, to have been anointed with it there. But on his return, at Chester, he delivered it to Archbishop Courtenay, confessing that he doubted not but that it was decreed he should not be anointed with it, as it indeed occurred: for he was very soon deposed, and Henry the Fourth, the descendant of the duke of Lancaster (before mentioned) was anointed with it at his coronation.

"Our ancient historians most unquestionably are replete with very extraordinary occurrences; to examine into the truth of this narration is unnecessary—*Credat, qui vult.*"†

Holy Oil.

Ever since these eventful times, the Blessed Virgin's inestimable gift has appeared at our coronations, and we are informed by the accurate historians of queen Victoria's coronation, that "care was taken at an early hour of the morning to fill the ampulla with *holy oil*," and great pity it is that they have not been equally communicative by fur-

* "Anon. MS. in Bibl. Cott. Thomas Walsingham."

† Disquisition on the Right of Succession, p. 127.

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ther informing us whence the holy oil was procured. There can be no doubt as to the quality of the oil used in this ceremony; for when the archbishop anointed Victoria on the crown of the head in the form of a cross, he said;—"Be thou anointed with holy oil as kings, priests and prophets were anointed." *Good Friday.*

The crosses for the oratories of the nobility appear to have been sometimes vast and ponderous. Henry the Third bequeaths in aid of the Holy Land, all his gold, to be carried with his cross by able-bodied and trust-worthy men.* Others, of the precious metals, were splendidly ornamented with precious stones: that left by the Black Prince to Canterbury Cathedral was a large cross of silver, and enamelled.†

Norman Crosses as land marks

At an early period after the Norman conquest, the cross became the appropriate mark, which distinguished the lands of the church, and mention of it frequently occurs in descriptions of boundaries in ancient charters relating to religious establishments. I select an instance, in which two crosses define the limits of the land conveyed by the charter:—"Sic de illa cruce per quandam foveam—usque ad aliam crucem super le Blakelachebancke,"—From the cross by the trench to the other cross upon the bank of the Black Lake.‡ Four crosses, which are named in a Papal Bull of 1172, were erected by the monks of St. Edmund's Bury, to define the jurisdiction of the abbey.§ Crosses were sometimes erected upon lands, by lords of the manor, who did not belong to any religious community; thus Robert Fitz-Henry, ancestor of the heiress of Lathom, whose ample domains laid the fortune of the noble house of Stanley, says, in the reign of Richard the First,‖—"Fossa —supra quam crucem erexi;"¶ and Geoffrey de Winmerlegh, granting a portion of his estate to the abbot of

* Lib. Nigr. Scacc. p. 532.
† Nichols, Royal Wills, p. 69.
‡ Dugd. Monast. Anglic. Tom. VI., p. 906.
§ Ibid. Tom. III., p. 99.
‖ Tanner ascribes this date to the charter, *Notit. Tom.* I., p. 488.
¶ Dugd. ut supra, p. 458.

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Cockersand, mentions among other boundaries, "quandam quercum cum cruce signatum,"* an oak tree signed with the cross.

The cross, being the badge of the monastic knights, who had territories in every county of England, was often erected upon lands and the tops and walls of houses, by tenants, who sought by this device to shelter themselves from the feudal claims of their lords, under the privileges with which those powerful religious and military corporations were invested.† In order to prevent these abuses, the tenants were restrained in the reign of Edward the first from either setting up crosses themselves or permitting the erection of them by others, under the penalty of forfeiting the lands to the lords or to the king as alienated in mortmain.‡ A relic of this feudal evasion exists in Leeds, and some other places, where are many houses for which exemption from the soke is claimed, marked with a double cross.

In imitation probably of either the crusaders or the military monks, crosses were worked upon coats of mail of a different metal. From a cross commonly worn on his shoulder, Edmund earl of Lancaster, brother of Edward the first, was named Crouch-back; and Eleanor duchess of Gloucester, in 1399, bequeaths to her son Humphrey, a coat of mail marked with a cross of brass on the breast opposite to the heart, which coat had belonged to his father, Thomas of Woodstock.§ Coins were marked with the cross; hence the term cross or crouch became synonymous with money. Ryott, a character in Skelton's "Bouge of Court," wore—

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* Dr. Whitaker, Hist. Richm. Vol. II., p. 483.

† An Adam de Kelet, about the reign of Henry III., gave to the abbey of Cockersand "totam partem meam terre que est inter cruces que stant super terram Hospital. Jer'l'm."—*Ibid. p.* 476.

‡ "Quia multi tenentes erigunt cruces in tenementis suis, &c." *St. Westm.* ii., 13 *Edw.* I., *cap.* 33.

§ Item un habergeon ove un crois de laton merchie sur le pis encontre le cuer, quele feust a mon seigneur son pere." *Nichols, Royal Wills, p* 181.

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"——— by his side his whynarde, and his pouche,
The devyll myghte dance therin for any crouche."

Good Friday.

The phrase *to cross the hand,* for this reason signifies, to give money, and hence also came the name of the ancient game of *Cross and Pile.* Shakspeare thus plays upon the equivoque:—"yet I should bear no cross if I did bear you; for I think you have no money in your purse."*

The remarkable papal bull, which Matthew Paris describes, had the representation of St. Paul on the right of a cross, in the middle of the instrument, and another of St. Peter on the left.†

Crosses the memorials of crimes.

I do not know whether, as in continental and other countries, the cross has ever been used in England to commemorate the perpetration of an atrocious crime. A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, states that Captain Head, in his passage over the Andes, saw on one of the highest summits of the Great Cordillera, a large wooden cross which had been erected by two arrieros to commemorate the murder of their friend; and that on the ascent to the Hospice of the Grand St. Bernard, several crosses stand near the road side as similar memorials. This custom, he says, is also observable on the banks of the Rhine, in Italy, Spain and Portugal. Lord Byron thus alludes to its existence in the latter country, in his magnificent description of Cintra:—

"And here and there, as up the crags you spring,
Mark many rude-carved crosses near the path,
Yet deem not these devotion's offering;
These are memorials frail of murderous wrath;
For wheresoe'er the shrieking victim hath
Poured forth his blood beneath the assassin's knife,
Some hand erects a cross of mouldering lath,
And grove and glen with thousand such are rife,
Throughout this purple land, where law secures not life."‡

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* As You Like It, Act II., sc. 4.

† "In bulla domini papæ stat imago Pauli a dextris crucis in medio bullæ figurata, et Petri a sinistris." *Hist. ad An.* 1237.

‡ Capt. Head's Rough Notes, p. 168.—Childe Harold, Canto I. xxi. Gent. Mag. Vol. XCVIII., p. 498.

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BOOK II.

Good Friday.

To some of the crosses, the privilege of Sanctuary was annexed, as that of Armethwaite, upon which was the date, 1088. Many of them attracted great crowds of pilgrims; such was the Holy Cross at Bromholm;* the cross at Boxley Abbey; and the Rood at Bermondsey. The latter was pretended to have been found near the Thames in 1117. Its removal in 1538, is related in the Diary of a citizen of London, who lived in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII:—

"M. Gresham mayr. On Saynt Mathies Day thapostall the xxiiijth day of February, Sonday, did the Bishop of Rochester preche at Polls Cros, and had standyng afore hym all his sermon tyme, the pictur of the Roode of Grace in Kent, and was gretely sought with pilgryms, and when he had made an ende of his sermon, the pictur was torn all to peces; then was the pictur of Saynt Saviour that had stand in Barmsey Abbey many yeres in Sowthwarke takyn downe."†

Church Yard Crosses.

The crosses erected in the church yards of many of our dioceses, were objects of great aversion at the Reformation. At a visitation of the Cathedral of Winchester, Oct. 1571, is this "Item; that all the images of the Trinitye in glass windows or other places of the churche be putte and extinguished together with the stone crosses in the churche yarde,"† and in the Journal of a fanatic, named Dowsing, are innumerable records of dilapidations of these harmless and elegant decorations, which are said to have been first painted in churches and chambers so early as 461, and to have been erected on steeples in 568. The demolition of the celebrated cross at Cheapside by the absurd fanatics of the republic, occurred May 2, 1643.

Returning to the bun, which the piety of the early Christian marked with the symbol of a saviour's suffering,

* Dugd. Monast. Anglic. Tom. III., p. 270. Tom. V., p. 59-60; p. 460; p. 94-95.

† Warton, Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 353. Ed. 2.

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"Whan he of purple did his baner sprede
On Calvary abroad upon the rode
To save mankynde,*

Good Friday.

and which for the purpose of mortification, he composed of such simple ingredients as to procure it the name of *Water Cake*; it was rejected by the Puritans as more deleterious than poison. Yet these learned theologians, when unable from ignorance to write their own names, unwittingly adopted the obscene symbol of the Phallic orgies, instead of the Christian Cross. In the "Solemn League and Covenant," preserved in the British Museum, are abundance of these marksmen, all of whom, from abhorrence of popery, leave the cross unfinished and sign with a mark resembling the letter T.

Water Cakes.

A day of particular solemnity in the Christian world, Good Friday was considered by the superstition of times not very remote to be the anniversary of the unholy rites celebrated by Witches; and in the remarkable confession of Margaret Johnson, a poor creature, who in 1633, was tortured into the admission that she was one of that class, she says, "Good Friday is one constant day for a generall meetinge of Witches, and that on Good Friday last they had a generall meetinge neere Pendle Water Syde":† and Mr. Baines, in his account of the Lancashire Witches,

Witch Assemblies.

* This remarkable passage is quoted from Lydgate by Warton. *Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol.* II., *p.* 59.

† Harl. MSS. Codex. 6854, fo. 266 seqq.—Mr. Godwin, in his "Lives of Necromancers," erroneously calls the place of assembly, "Pendlebury Forest, four or five miles from Manchester, remarkable for its picturesque and gloomy situation." The pleasant little village of that name is at that distance from Manchester, but the dismal forest of Pendle is about forty miles, and was the scene of this melancholy superstition. Johnson's confession was by no means singular: in 1650 a man and two women confessed themselves to be Witches. *Whitelocke's Memorial, p.* 465. In 1653 a curious memorandum occurs "Of divers witches examined and sent to prison, some of them called *Black Witches*, who killed men, women and children, and cattle, by their witchcraft; and others of them called *White Witches*, who healed those that were bewitched by the other; and that this was confessed by them," p. 570. The Pagans, Gibbon observes, distinguished between good and bad

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quotes a charm for curing the bewitched, part of which is,

Good Friday. Witch Charm.

"Upon Good Friday,
I will fast while I may,
Until I heare them knell
Our Lord's own bell." &c.*

The reality of witchcraft or enchantment, which though not exactly the same, says Dr. Johnson, in his notes on Macbeth, are confounded in this play, has in all ages and countries been credited by the common people, and in most by the learned themselves. The researches of the great critic attain to the exhibition "of a scene of enchantments not exceeded by any romance of the middle age," in the book of St. Chrysostom *de Sacerdotio*.

Salmuth mentions a notion which formerly prevailed, that hens' eggs laid on Good Friday, would extinguish any fire into which they were cast, and that in consequence many people preserved them the whole year for this purpose; and he quotes Martin del Rio, who mentions another superstition respecting eggs, the shells of which people were afraid to throw away without previously piercing them thrice with a knife. The neglect of this ceremony was believed to place the person in the power of the witches.†

magic, the Theurgic and the Goetic. *Decl. Rom. Emp. Vol.* IV., *ch.* 25. n. 46; but in the Jewish and Christian system, all demons are infernal spirits. Several poor wretches, in 1652, were put to the most horrid tortures in Scotland, in order to produce a confession suited to the nature of the charge of witchcraft alleged against them.—*Whitelocke*, p. 547. The Scandinavians had their *Liosalfar* and *Döckalfar*, or light and dark elves.—*Keightley, Fairy Mythol. Vol.* I. *p.* 107, 108; and as we have unquestionably received our notions of witches and witchcraft from the northern nations, and not from the Greeks, as supposed by Dr. Johnson, we may have had from them this distinction between the two classes. An anonymous traveller, says, "So lately as the year 1783, a woman was tried here (Cadiz) for witchcraft, and condemned to do penance on an ass, through the streets, and afterwards doomed to perpetual banishment. A painting is now exhibited in one of the churches to commemorate this disgraceful sentence." *Tour in different parts of Europe, in the years* 1792, &c. *p.* 334, Lond. 8vo 1797.

* Hist. Lanc. Vol. I. p. 509.

† Comment. in Pancirol. de Reb. Memor. et Deperditis, Par. I. tit. 51, p. 255

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The name of *Easter* is clearly traced to that of *Eostre*, a goddess to whom the Saxons and other northern nations sacrificed in the month of April, in which the paschal festival usually falls.* This season has always been signalized by festivity among the Persians, Egyptians, Scandinavians, and other ancient people, who at this period celebrated the entrance of the sun into Aries. The Egyptians, observing this planet apparently removing from their climate, began, it is said, to fear that a day would arrive when it would entirely forsake them, and in consequence, they every year celebrated with rejoicing, the period when they observed its re-ascension.† *Easter.*

The Egyptians, though bad theologians, were better natural philosophers than represented by Manilius. Their festivities were typical of the return of Osiris to life, as their lamentations at the winter solstice were uttered for his death, both relics of the most antient species of idolatry.

In the Isles of Scilly, it was customary at this season, says Heath, "for the young people to exercise a sort of gallantry, called *Goose Dancing*, when the maidens are dressed up for young men, and the young men for maidens; thus disguised they visit their neighbours, in companies, where they dance and make jokes upon what has happened on the island. By this sort of sport there is a spirit of wit and drollery kept up among the people. When the music and dancing are done, they are treated with liquor, and then they go to the next house of entertainment."‡ A similar custom prevailed in the north about Christmas,§ and both are therefore to be considered the same as *mumming*. *Goose Dancing.*

In Scotland, and the north of England generally, it is *Pace Eggs.*

* Bed. Eccles. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 19, 23; Lib. iii. cap. 25; Lib. IV. cap. 22.

† Vide suprâ, p. 55.

‡ Islands of Scilly 1750, p. 125. Strutt, Glig Gamena, B. IV. ch. 3. s. 12.

§ Ibid. B. iii, ch. 6, s. 11. Bourne, ch. xvi.

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BOOK II.

Easter.

customary to boil eggs hard, and after dyeing or staining them of various colours* to give them to the children for toys on Easter Sunday. In these places, children ask for their *Pace Eggs*, as they are termed, at this season for a fairing; and in Lancashire, young people fantastically dressed, armed with wooden or tin swords, and their faces smeared, go from house to house, at each of which, if permitted, they perform a sort of drama. The performers are called *Pace Eggers*, and may justify their practice by the religious *mysteries* formerly exhibited at this time to the people. The words *Pays, pas, pace, pase, pasce, pask, pasch, passhe*, formerly used in this country, and still common in the north,† are clearly derived from the Hebrew through the Greek πασχα. The Danish *Paaske-egg*, and the Swedish *Paskegg*, both likewise signify colored eggs. Brand considers this custom a relic of ancient Catholicism, the egg being emblematic of the Resurrection; but it is not improbable, that it is in its origin like many other ancient popular customs, totally unconnected with any form of Christianity, and that it had its commencement in the time of heathenism. The egg was a symbol of the world, and ancient temples in consequence sometimes received an oval form.‡ This typification is found in almost every oriential cosmogony. The sacred symbol is still used in the rites of the Beltein, which are unquestionably of heathen origin, and eggs are presented about the period of Easter in many countries. "Easter," says a recent tourist, "is another season for the interchange of civilities, when instead of the colored egg in other parts of Germany, and which is there merely a toy for children, the Vienna Easter egg is composed of silver,

Pace Eggers.

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* Several receipts for this purpose are given by Mr. Hone, *E. D. Book, Vol.* I. 426.

† In Cambridgeshire the word *pasch* is still in use, and applied to a flower which appears at this time on the Gogmagog Hills, and in the neighbourhood.

‡ Maurice, Ind. Antiq. Vol. iii, p. 18.

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mother of pearl, bronze, or some other expensive material, and filled with jewels, trinkets or ducats.*

Easter.

According to Du Cange, the clergy formerly played at *ball in churches* at Easter, and statutes were made to regulate the size of the balls. The ceremony was commenced by the deacon or his representative, who on receiving the ball, began an antiphone, or chant, suited to Easter Day; then taking the ball in his left hand, he commenced a dance to the tune, others of the clergy dancing round, hand in hand. At intervals the ball was handed or tossed by the dean to each of the choristers, the organ playing according to the dance or sport; at the conclusion of the anthem or dance, they went and partook of refreshment. It was the privilege of the lord or his deputy to throw the ball, which was sometimes done even by the archbishop.†

Ball Play in Churches

A singular custom, strangely supposed to be typical of the Resurrection, is of great antiquity in England, and exists in the *Heaving*, or as it is termed in Lancashire *Lifting*. It is prevalent not only in that county, but in Cheshire, Shropsire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and was once practised in the mansions of the "great and high-born." Brand quotes an entry from the household book of Edward I, in the eighteenth year of his reign, from which it appears that Longshanks was lifted in his bed on Easter Monday by the maids of honor.‡ The passage, which was originally communicated by Mr Lysons to the Society of Antiquaries, is to this effect:—

Lifting.

> The Ladies of the Queen's chamber, May 15. To VII ladies and damsels of the queen, for taking our lord the king in his bed on the morrow of Easter, and fining him for the king's peace, which fine he paid by the hands of Hugh de Cerru, the Lady de Weston's esquire,.....£14.

Since this period, the custom has been reversed; the men lift or heave the women on Easter Monday, and the

* Sketches of Germany and the Germans, in 1834, 1835 and 1836, Vol. II. p. 162.

† Fosbrooke, Dict. Antiq. art. *Ball-Play*.

‡ Pop. Antiq. Vol. I., p. 154.

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BOOK II.

Easter.

women retaliate on Easter Tuesday. A similar alteration in the observance of a popular custom prevails in some parts of the south on the second Tuesday after Easter. Jacob's account of it is, that on this, women stop the road with ropes, and pull passengers to them, desiring something to be laid out in pious uses; the men having done the same on the preceding day; or in his words "the men hock the women on Monday, and the contrary on Tuesday.* There is extant in the Bodleian Library, a letter dated April 1450, from the bishop of Worcester, to the almoner of his cathedral and to all the clergy in his diocese, denouncing the penalties of excommunication upon the people, if they do not cease from bindings and indecent sports ("a ligationibus et ludis inhonestis") on the days commonly called *Hock-Days*.† In the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Seventh" for the year 1505, is the following entry:—

Hock Days

"May 2. To Lendesay for the wiffs at Grenewiche upon Hockmonday, 3s. 4d."‡

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the origin of this custom, and its name, though Hoke-Day, which has been used by Mathew Paris as an historical date, was so very remarkable, that rents were formerly reserved payable upon it; and a duty called *Hock Tuesday Money*, was anciently paid to the lord for giving leave to his tenants and bondmen to celebrate the day, on which it was popularly, but erroneously believed, the Saxons conquered and expelled the Danes. The custom of *lifting*, it appears, was annually prohibited in the eighteenth century by official proclamations of the magistrates in Manchester,§ where it is now observed only by boys and girls.

Some of the sports of Christmas were repeated at Easter,

* Law Dict. art. Hock Tuesday.

† Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Codex. 2508. p. 163 b.

‡ Excerpta Historica, p. 132.

§ Gent. Mag. Feb. 1784, p. 96.

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and particularly the mummings and disguisings, as appears from the accounts of Henry the Seventh:—

Easter.

"Nov. 16, (1493) To Walter Alwyn for the revels at Estermes, £13 6s. 8d.
"June 1, (1494) To Peche,* for the disguising in rewarde, £26."
"Jan. 24, (1496) To Jakes Haute, in full payment for the disguysing at Estermes, £6 17s. 6d."
"Feb. 7,———To my Lorde Suffolk, my Lorde Essex, my Lorde William and other for the disguising, £2."†

Easter Disguisings.

In Yorkshire on Easter Sunday, it was a custom in Bourne's time, for the young men in the villages to take off the young girl's buckles, and on the Easter Monday, the young men's shoes and buckles were taken off by the young women. On the Wednesday they were redeemed by little pecuniary forfeits, out of which an entertainment called a *Tansey Cake*, was provided, and the jollity concluded with dancing. At Ripon, where this custom prevailed, it is reported, that no traveller could pass the town without being stopped, and, if a horseman, having his spurs taken away, unless redeemed by a little money, which was the only means to get them returned. This seems to bear an affinity to the custom of hocking. A similar custom still prevails at Filey, and perhaps, other parts of Yorkshire. "At Easter," says Mr. Cole, "the young men seize the shoes of the females, collecting as many as they can, and on the following day the girls retaliate by getting the men's hats, which are to be redeemed on a subsequent evening, when both parties assemble at one of the inns, and partake of a rural repast."‡

Tansey Cakes.

"The custom of eating a *gammon at Easter*," says Aubrey, "(which is still kept up in many parts of England) was founded on this; viz. to shew their abhorrence of Judaism at that solemn commemoration of our Lord's Resurrection."

* *Patch*, the fool so called on account of his variegated raiments. In an entry of 1492,—"Feb. 12, Peche the fole in rewarde, 6s. 8d." p. 88.

† Excerpta Historica, pp. 95, 98, 106, 107.

‡ Hist. and Antiq. of Filey, 8vo. 1828, p. 136.

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BOOK II.

Lady Day.

The *Festival of the Annunciation*, March 25, commemorates in the Christian world the message of the Angel to the Virgin Mary: hence it was anciently called St. Mary's Day in Lent, to distinguish it from other festivals in her honor:—

> "Seinte Marie day in Leynte, among
> Alle other dayes gode,
> Is ryt forto holde heghe
> He so [whoso] him vnderstode."*

All the festivals of the Virgin are properly Lady Days, but this falling in Lent, and being the first quarter-day for rents and other payments, readily became *Lady Day, par excellence*. Otherwise considered, it is a simple abridgment of "Our Lady Day the Annunciacion," as we find it written in the reign of Henry the Sixth.† Some old customs on paying quarterly rents are noticed in Gascoigne's Flowers of Poesie, 4to 1575:—

Quarterly Customs

> "And when the tenauntes come to paie their quarters rent,
> They bring some fowle at Midsummer, a dish of fish in Lent,
> At Christmasse a capon, at Michaelmasse, a goose,
> And somewhat else at New Yeares tide for feare their lease flie loose."‡

Fairy Skeletons.

With respect to the superstitions entertained at this and other quarterly periods, when a child in some parts of Scotland, from internal disease, suddenly *loses its looks*, or seems *to vanish*, as they express it, strong suspicions are sometimes entertained that the declining child is merely an elvish substitute. This foolish idea also prevails in the Hebrides. They had a singular mode of obtaining restitution: "It was usual with those who believed that their children were thus taken away, to dig a grave in the fields upon quarter day, and there to lay the fairy skeleton till next morning; at which time the parents went to the place,

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* Harl. MSS. Codex, 2277, fo. 1.

† Duo Rerum Script. Anglic. Tom. II., p. 555. ed. Hearne.

‡ Dr. Forster, Peren. Calend. p. 515.

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where they doubted not to find their own child instead of this skeleton."*

Lady Day.

In Sweden, the witches are supposed to take on the night preceding *War Fru Dag*, Our Lady's Day, their flight to Blakalla, a famous mountain; but it was formerly believed that these formidable beings travelled to the Bloxberg, or Brocken, a high mountain, contiguous to the Hartz Forest.† In the northern parts of Lancashire, where this kind of superstition has lost little vigor by its age, the aerial voyages of the witches are terminated at the Fells of Longridge, or Pendle Hill, whose lofty peak and forest covered sides, seem like a huge eagle in the air, with wings expanded to receive the communicants of the powers of darkness.

Witch Flights.

Dr. Fuller preserves a proverb on which he has some curious notes:—

> "When our Lady falls in our Lord's lap,
> Then let England beware a mishap."

"I behold this proverbial prophecy," he says, "or this prophetical menace to be not above six score yeares old, and of Popish extraction since the Reformation. When

* Martin, Descript. Western Islands of Scotl. p. 118, and Dr. Jamieson, *Etymol. Dict. art. Farefolkis*. The latter remarks, "By this practice, they would at any rate, often get rid of the *skeleton*."

† This is the account given by Von Troill in his Letters on Iceland, p. 24. It is also quoted by Dr. Jamieson; but on consulting Ihre, the *Blækulla* is found to be a dangerous rock between Oland and Smoland, which proving very destructive to vessels in navigating the Baltic, acquired the evil reputation of being the residence of demons. It derives its name of the blue rock or hill, from its dark blue colour when seen at a distance. Ihre says that this fabulous account produced another, that it is the place to which witches resort to their infernal festival on the Thursday of *Hebdomadis Magna*, which is Passion Week. The Germans, he continues, have their Blocksberg, concerning which similar stories are told; but as *kulle* and *berg* are synonimous, and parts of the names in both languages, it is probable that the fables arise from the same source. *Gloss. Suieo-Gothic.* Tom. I., p. 202. The same remark may be applied to Blakehills, in Soutra Fell, Westmorland, where a natural phenomenon, (noticed subsequently,) excited the terrors of the superstitious.

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BOOK II.

Lady Day.

Lady Day (being the 5 and 20th day of March, and the first of the Gregorian year) chanceth to fall on the day of Christ's Resurrection, then some signal judgment is intended to our state and churchmen especially. Such coincidence hath happened just 15 times since the conquest." These coincidences he places in a column entitled "*Signal Disasters*" among which we find,

A.D. 1106, King Henry I, subdueth Normandy.
1190, King Richard I, conquereth Cypress in his way to Palestine.
1285, Nothing remarkable but Peace and Plenty!*

Evil Days.

In a beautiful Saxon MS. which, however, has been so much injured by fire, as to be almost useless, is an article on the Evil Days of every month, whence it seems that the first day of March, and the fourth before the end of that month were anciently considered unfavourable for the commencement of any business; for it was certain that it would never be ended. By the superstitious even now the *three last days of March* are deemed unlucky,† but whether it has any connection with the Saxon notion I do not know. This is not with us the only case of regarding one day as bad and another as good. *Friday* for example is a day of ill omen, on which no new work must be commenced. Marriages seldom take place on it from this cause. It is singular that the same feeling prevails among the Bramans; "on this day no business must be commenced.‡ According to a rhyming proverb; "Friday's noon, come when it will, comes too soon." Sir Thomas Overbury, in his felicitous and delightful "Character of a Milkmaid," mentions a superstition relating to dreams on Friday: "Lastly her

* Worthies, Vol. I., p. 79.

† De Diebus Malis cuiusque Mensis.—*ꝑeɪȝen ðaȝaꝛ ꝛynðon on æȝhꝑɪlcum monð.—ꝑ ꝛꝑa hꝑæt ꝛꝑa man [on] ꝑam ðaȝum onȝinneð. Ne ꝑuꝑð hɪt næꝼne ȝe-enðoþ.—Se ꝼoꝛma ðæȝ on maꝛtɪo on hlýðan monðe. ⁊ ꝛe ꝼeoꝛða ðæȝ æꝛ he onpeȝ ꝼaꝛ ***, &c.—Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, A. XVIII. fo. 2.

‡ Dr. Buchanan, Asiat. Res. Vol. VI., p. 172.

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dreams are so chaste, that she dare tell them, only a Friday's dream is all her superstition; that she conceals for fear of anger."

Lady Day.

The English in Lent, says Erasmus, take the food allowed by the church every other day, but if a man in a fever, were to eat a little chicken broth at such times, it would be deemed worse than sacrilege. Among them you may eat with impunity in Lent, but none would allow the same thing to be done on a Friday out of Lent. If you inquire the reason they reply that it is the custom of the country. I do not censure them for dividing Lent between God and their stomachs, but I point out their extraordinary inconsistency.*

Monday.

The mere mention of *Monday*, in the north of Scotland, in company for the first time, is lucky or unlucky according to the sex of the person by whom it is named; and in Ireland, Monday is a very auspicious day for the commencement of any undertaking.†

Saturday.

Saturday has been considered inauspicious: "Certane craftis men will nocht begin their worke on Satterday, certane schipmen or marinars will not begin to sail on the Satterday, certane trauellars will not begin their iorney on the Satterday, quhilk is plane superstition, because God Almychty made the Satterday, as well as he made all other dayis of the weake."‡

Henry the Seventh looked upon this day as ominous:—"He entered the citie upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained a victorie upon a Saturday, which day of the weeke first upon an observation, and after upon memorie and fancie, hee accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him."§

This superstition is ancient and ethnical. It was common among the Greeks, who received it from the Egyptians,

* Ιχνοφαγια.

† Dr. Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Mononday.*

‡ Abp. Hamiltoun's Catechisme, 1551, fol. 22, 26. Jamieson.

§ Lord Bacon, Life of Henry VII., p. 7, and p. 179. Lond. 1629.

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BOOK II.

and they from the Chaldeans, and so many distinctions were made between particular days, that it was a matter of importance to observe them, αισισθαι τὰς ἡμερας. Hesiod refers to this custom:—

Lady Day.

> Αλλοτε μητρυιη πελει ἡμεα αλλοτε μητηρ.
> "Some days, like surly stepdames, adverse prove,
> Thwart our intentions, cross whate'er we love;
> Others more fortunate, and lucky shine,
> And, as a tender mother, bless what we design."*

This foible was not peculiar to the Greeks; it was common among other nations, and particularly among the Romans, who had their *Dies Atri*, or unlucky days.† This superstition was adopted by the early Christians, and has continued with modifications to our own times. St. Paul reproves the Galatians (IV. 10.) for observing days, and months, and years; and St. Augustine thus explains the passage: "The persons whom the apostle blame are those who say, I will not set forward on my journey, because it is the next day after such a time, or because the moon is so: or I will set forward that I may have luck, because such is just now the position of the stars. I will not traffic this month, because such a star presides, or I will because it does not. I shall plant no vine this year, because it is Leap year, &c."‡

It has already been observed that our ancestors had two days in every month which they deemed unlucky, and which they named Egyptian or Evil Days.

Borrowing Days.

The three last days of March, O. S. have been called *Borrowing Days*, or Borrowed Days. Being generally stormy, our ancestors attempted to account for the fact by

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* Potter's Archæol. Græca, Vol. I. ch. 17.

† Against several days in the ancient Roman Kalendar, an observation occurs, that it is ill to marry. Roman artisans would not commence any work on New Year's Day, because they deemed it unlucky:—"Opera auspicabantur." *Senec. Epist.* 83.

‡ Dr. Forster, Peren. Calend. p. 145.

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assuming that March borrowed from April, in order to extend his reign so much the longer:—

Borrowing Days.

"March borrowit fra Averill,
Three days, and they were ill."

They who are very superstitious will neither borrow nor lend on any of those days, and if any one should propose to borrow from them, they would esteem it an evidence, that the person wished to employ the article borrowed for the purposes of witchcraft against the leader. Dr. Jamieson quotes the following curious lines on this subject:—

"March said to Aperill,
I see three hogs upon a hill;
But lend your three first days to me,
And I'll be bound to gar them die.
The first, it sall be wind and weet;
The next, it sall be snaw and sleet;
The third, it sall be sic a freeze,
Sall gar the birds stick to the trees.
But when the borrowed days were gane,
The three silly hogs came hirplin hame."

Among the Highlanders of Scotland, the same idea of the Borrowing Days is commonly received, with this difference that the days are considerably antedated. With them the *Faiolteach*, or three first days of February, serve many practical purposes. They are said to have been borrowed by February from January, who was bribed by February with three young sheep. These three days, in Highland computation, occur between the 11th and 15th of February, and it is accounted a most favorable prognostic for the ensuing year, that they should be as stormy as possible. If they should be fair, then no more good weather is to be expected through the Spring.*

Faiolteach

The custom of sending people on a fool's errand on the 1st of April, or *All Fool's Day* is general and ancient. In

April Day.

* Grant, Superstitions of the Highlanders, Vol. II. p. 217. Jamieson Suppl. art. *Borrowing Days.*

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BOOK II.

April Day. Poisson d'Avril.

Germany the phrase "Einen nach dem April schicken" is equivalent to making him an April Fool. The French *Poisson d'Avril* is applied equally to the person and to the trick played. Napoleon, marrying the archduchess of Austria on the first of April, 1810, was called by the Parisians, "Un poisson d'Avril" an April Fool. At Paris on April 1, 1817, a lady pocketted a watch in a friend's house, and when charged with the fact before the correctional police, she said that it was 'Un poisson d'Avril,' an April Joke. On denying that the watch was in her possession, a messenger was sent to her apartments who found it on the chimney piece, upon which the lady said that she had made the messenger, "Un poisson d'Avril."*

Gowk's Errand.

In the northern counties and in Scotland, they have their *Gowks*, who are said to have been sent on a *Gowk's Errand*. *Gauch* (whence *jocus*) in the Teutonic (German *Gecke*, and *Gauckelns* to juggle; Swedish *Gaek*) signifies a fool, and thus we have the word *Gowk*; and a foolish character in Smollet's Roderic Random is called *Squire Gawky*. In Lancashire *Gawky* is corrupted into *Gawby* of the same signification. Dr. Jamieson thinks that the expression, a Gawk's Errand, although equivalent to a fool's errand, does not originate immediately from *Gowk*, a foolish person, but from the cuckoo, which in Scotland bears that name. "Young people, attracted by the singular cry of the cuckoo, being anxious to see it, are often very assiduous to obtain their gratification. But as the bird changes its place so secretly and suddenly, when they think they are just within reach of it, they hear it cry at a considerable distance. Thus they run from place to place, still finding themselves as far removed from their object as ever. Hence the phrase, *Hunt the Gowk* may have come to be used for any fruitless attempt, and particularly for

* She was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment until April 1, 1818, and then to be discharged, "comme un poisson d'Avril." *Morning Chron.* Thursday, June 17, 1817.

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those vain errands, on which persons are sent on the first of April."*

April Day.

The Romans had a *Festum Stultorum* on the 17th of February, but from the description of it by Plutarch, it bore no affinity to any of our periodical customs. Those who had omitted the celebration of the *Fornacalia* at the proper time and in their own tribes, were allowed to celebrate it on this day,† and hence it was called the Feast of Fools.

The custom of making April fools, however, seems to be a relic of a high and general pagan festival, at which the most unbounded hilarity prevailed; and like many other periodical observances seems to have had an Oriental parentage. Colonel Pearce has proved that it is an immemorial custom among the Hindoos, at their *Huli* Festival, when mirth and festivity prevailed over every class, to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expense of the messenger. "Both high and low join in it;" and the "late Suraja Doulah, I am told, was very fond of making Huli fools, though he was a mussulman of the highest rank. They carry the joke here so far as to send letters making appointments in the name of persons, who, it is known, must be absent from their house at the time fixed upon; and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given." The last day of the Huli, March 31, is the general holiday. This festival is held in honor of the new year; and as the year formerly began in Britain about the same time, Maurice, in his Indian Antiquities, that the diversions of the first of April, both in Britain and India, had a common origin in the ancient celebration of the return of the vernal equinox with festal rites.‡ For the same reason, the remark is applicable to every country in which this fool-making custom is found.

The Huli Festival.

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* Etymol. Dict. art. *Gowk's Errand.* Gæc, Anglo-Saxon, a cuckoo.

† Quæst. Rom. Quæst. Διὰ τιτα Κυριναλια Μωρῶν Εορτη ονομαζωσιν;

‡ Asiat. Res. Vol. II. p. 334. Brand.

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BOOK II.

St. George.

St. George's Day, April 23, though now passed over without notice, was formerly celebrated by feasts of cities and corporations, as we learn from Johan Bale, who, speaking of the neglect of public libraries, has the following curious apostrophe:—

"O cyties of Englande, whose glory standeth more in bellye chere, then in the serche of Wysdome godlye. How cometh it that neyther you, nor your ydell masmongers, haue regarded thys most worthy commodyte of your countrey? I mean the conservacyon of your Antiquytees, and of the worthy labours of your lerned men: I thynke the renowne of suche a notable acte wolde haue much longar endured than of all your belly bankettes and table tryumphes, eyther yet of your newely purchased hawles to kepe S. Georges feast in."*

Royal Spurs.

The king's spurs became the fee of the choristers at Windsor on installations and feasts on St. George's day, In the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Seventh" is an entry under the year 1495:—

"Oct. 1. At Windesor. To the children for the spoures——"

A similar disbursement occurs thrice in the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth in 1530.†

Blue Coats.

Among courtiers and people of fashion, blue coats were worn on this day. Captain Face, a character in the "Ram Alley," alludes to the custom among the knights:—

"Do you bandy tropes? By Dis I will be knight,
Wear a blue coat on great St. George's day,
And with my fellows drive you all from Paul's."‡

In Epigram 33 of *The Second Bowle, by Thomas Freeman*, 4to. 1614, quoted in Dodsley's Old Plays is this distich:—

* Preface to The Laboryeuse Journey and Serche of John Leylande for Englandes Antiquitees. In *Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood*, Vol. 1. sign. C.

† Excepta Historica, p. 105.

‡ Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. V. p. 486.

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"With's eorum nomine keeping greater sway,
Than a court blew Coat on St. George's day."*

St. George.

Dr. Forster having mentioned an allusion to this dress in Reed's Old Plays, Vol. xii, observes that it was "probably because blue was the fashionable colour of Britain, over which St. George presides, and not in imitation of the clothing of the fields in blue, by the flowering of the blue bells, as many have supposed."†

Standard of St. George.

The standard of St. George was borne before our ancient kings in battle: thus in a minstrel piece written about the year 1417, it is mentioned that the French at the battle of Agincourt:—

"Sent Jorge be fore our kyng they did se."‡

War cries.

His name was the ancient war cry, and many allusions to it are found in old writers. When Richard the Third receives the news of Stanley's defection, he cries:—

"Advance our standard, set upon our foes!
Our ancient wont of courage, fair Saint George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragon!"§

But this standard and war cry were not peculiar to the English, as appears from a Suio-Gothic Chronicle, quoted by Ihre:—

"Ty begynnade the alle siunga,
Ok qwado Sancti Œrjans wissa."
Chron. Rhythm. p. 509.
Then began they all to sing
The song of Saint George.

It was either so general, or so famous a cry, that the old Germans converted the name of the Saint into a verb, by which they expressed the inclamations of other national war cries. Thus, in Stricker, it is said that the French cry

* Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. XII. p. 398.
† Peren. Calend. p. 185.
‡ Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, Vol. II. p. 36.
§ See also First Part of Henry the Sixth, Act IV. Sc. 6.

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BOOK II.

St. George.

of "Montjoy Saint Denis" was *Georged* by the Christians:—

"Mungsgoy wart mit schalle
Gregoriit von der Christen."*

An equestrian statue of St. George, erected in many parish churches, was often extravagantly decorated as appears from an ancient history of Reading. Hollinworth, a noted puritanical preacher and author at the time of the Commonwealth, says in his manuscript History of Manchester, preserved in the Chetham Library there; "In the chappell, where morning sermons were wont to be preached called St. George his Chappell was the statua of St. George on horseback hanged up. His horse was lately [circa 1656] in the sadler's shop. The statues of the virgin Mary and St. Dyonise the other patron Sts. were upon the highest pillars next to the quire. Unto them men did usually bow at their coming in the church.†

His celebrity in England rivalled that of St. James in Spain, and in an old poem in praise of the Willoughbies of Eresby, the following extravagant invocation appears:—

"O holy St. George, O very champion!
O undefyled and most holy knight!
O gem of chivalry! O very emeraud stone!
O load star of loyalty, O diamond most gwyght!
O saphir of sadness, O Mantese of Ynde!
Grant me thy helpe, that comfort to find."‡

Legend of St. George.

The life of St. George, however, unless he be greatly belied, was distinguished by anything but chivalry or sanctity: Gibbon has critically examined his history, and has the following curious remarks: "The two extraordinary circumstances in the Legend of George of Cappadocia are his gradual formation from a heretic to a saint, and from a

* Ihre, Gloss. Suio-Goth. Tom. II. p. 318.

† Mancuniensis, MS. fo. 11. In the Chetham or College Library, Manchester.

‡ Dugdale, Baronag. Vol. II. p. 85.

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St. George.

saint to a knight-errant, I. It clearly appears from Epiphanius (Hæres. lxxvi.) that some persons revered George as a martyr, because he had been massacred by the pagans. But as Epiphanius observes with truth, that his vices, not his faith, had been the cause of his death; the Arians disguised the object of their veneration by changing the time and place of his martyrdom, stigmatized his adversary Athanasius under the title of Athanasius the Magician, and when they returned to the Catholic church, they brought with them a new saint, of whose character they had insensibly lost the remembrance. At first, he was received with coldness and distrust, and in the year 494, the council of Rome, held under Pope Gelasius, mentions his Acts as composed by heretics, and his person as better known to God than to man. But in the succeeding century, his glory broke out with sudden lustre both in the East and in the West. See the contemporary testimonies of Procopius [de Edificiis l. iii.] of Venantius Fortunatus [l. ii. carm. 13] of Gregory of Tours [de gloria martyrum l. i. c. 101,] and of Gregory of Rome, [in Libro Sacram.] New legends were invented by the lively fancies of the Greeks, which described the stupendous miracles and sufferings of the *Great Martyr*: and from Lydda in Palestine [See Glaber, l. iii. c. 7, Wilhelm. Tyr. l. 8, 22.] the supposed place of his burial, devout pilgrims transported the suspicious relics which adorned the temples erected to his honor in all the countries of Europe and Asia. II. The genius of chivalry and romance mistook the symbolical representations, which were common to St. George of Cappadocia and to several other saints, the dragon painted under their feet was designed for the devil, whom the martyr transpierced with the spiritual lance of faith, and thus delivered the church, described under the figure of a woman. But in the time of the crusades, the dragon so common in Eastern romance, was considered as a real monster slain near the city of Silena in Lybia, by the christian hero, who (like another Perseus) delivered from his fury a beautiful and real damsel

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named St. Margaret. In the great battle of Antioch, St. George fought on the side of the Christians at the head of an innumerable host, whose shields, banners, &c. were perfectly white: and the truth of this prodigy, so analogous to his character, is attested by contemporaries and witnesses [Robert. Hist. Hierosolym. l. v. et vii. Petrus Tudebrod. ap. Duchesne. tom. iv.] The name of St. George, who on other occasions in Spain and Italy is said to have lent a similar aid, was invoked by princes and warriors as that of their peculiar patron. Cities and kingdoms, Malta, Genoa, Barcelona, Valencia, Arragon, England, &c. adopted him as their tutelar saint: and even the Turks have vied with the Christians in celebrating the martial prowess of their celestial enemy, whom they style the *Knight of the White Horse*, [Cotobii in Itinerar. Cantacuzen. in Apol. iii. contra Mahometanos]. An ample collection of whatever relates to St. George may be found in the Bollandists. [Acta Sanctorum mens. April, Jan. iii. p. 100-163]. The first who discovered the Arian prosecutor under the mask of sanctity was Isaac Pontanus de Rebus Amstelodam. b. ii. c. 4, and although father Papebroche, [Acta SS. Boll. p. 112,] is extremely angry with him, the more candid Abbé de Longuerne (Longuewand) embraces the opinion of Pontanus with pleasure and assurance. Perhaps our knights of the garter would be somewhat astonished at reading this short history of their patron."*

St. George.

Knight of the White Horse.

Symbolical Dragons.

The hint, casually thrown out by the historian of Rome, has been expanded into a treatise on the dragon of Metz, by a learned Frenchman, M. Alexandre Lenoir, who demonstrates that the monsters, which in the legends of the Middle Ages, ravaged so many countries, and were destroyed only by the miraculous intervention of a supernatural being, are referable to the astronomical themes of Per-

* Miscel. Works, Vol. V., p. 490. St. George's fame and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the Crusades. *Decl. Rom. Emp. Vol.* IV., *ch.* 23, *n.* 125.

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seus, the liberator of Andromeda, in danger from a sea-monster, and Orion the vanquisher of serpents, themselves, emblems of the victory of the sun of spring over winter, of light over darkness, and dropping all allegorical veils, of the beneficent principle over the principle of evil.*

St. George.

How St. George, a Greek Saint, became patron of England may not be difficult of solution although it may not account satisfactorily for the rejection of each of the saints, who were equally the destroyers of the infernal dragon,† under the very same circumstances in common to the exploit of St. George and the astronomical Perseus. It cannot have been, because these saints were already appropriated, for other nations as well as we, claim the tutelary protection of St. George. Some other reason must have influenced the election. In all the churches throughout Christendom, the dragon, emblematical of winter, was borne in the processions of the Rogations,‡ which fall every where in the middle of Spring, when the solar victory is completely achieved.§ As no English saint ever had the honor to overcome a dragon, it was necessary to look for a substitute, and, it matters not for what reason, St. George, whose anniversary falls in the middle of the time allotted to the Rogations, was chosen.

Dragons in the Rogations.

St. Mark's Day,‖ April 25, is distinguished in old Kalendars by a second appellation *Litania Major*, which

St. Mark's Day.

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* Mem. de l'Academie Celtique, Tom. II.

† France alone boasts of eight of these dragon-slayers. M. Salverte, Mag. Encycl. 1812, Tom. I., p. 24.

‡ Lettre du Muphti de Constantinople, p. 94. Salverte.

§ At Lima, in the Southern Hemisphere, on the day of St. Francis d'Assise, a dragon called the *Tarasque* is borne in procession. This name recals the dragon of Tarascon, slain by St. Martha in the first century. The representation of the monster called the *Tarasque*, is still borne in procession in France on the morrow of Pentecost. Whether by chance or by calculation does not appear, but the *Tarasque* of Lima is exhibited on the 4th of October, which is the entrance of Spring in that climate. See M. Salverte, livre cité.

‖ Gloss. *Festum S. Marci Evangelistæ; Letania Major, Cruces Nigræ, &c.*

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BOOK II.

St. Mark.

Litanies

had reference to the prayers, and solemn processions of covered crosses on this day. It was frequently confounded with the processions of the Rogations, which depended upon the moveable feast of the Ascension, and were also called Litanies, though it does not appear that the processions of St. Mark were ever called Rogations. A mistake of this kind was committed by the author of a Saxon homily on the Litania Major, by applying to it the term Gang Days, the Saxon name of the three days preceding Holy Thursday.* St. Mark's day was prolific in superstition. Mr. Brand says that, in Yorkshire, it is usual for the common people to sit and watch in the Church porch from eleven o'clock at night until one in the morning. In the third year, for this must be done thrice, it is supposed that they will see the ghosts of all those who are to die the next year, pass into the church. When any one sickens, who is thought to have been seen in this manner, it is presently whispered about that he will not recover, for that such a one who has watched St. Mark's Eve, says so. This superstition is in such force, that if the patients themselves hear of it, they almost despair of recovery, and many are said actually to have died by the influence of their imagination on this occasion:—

"'Tis now," replied the village belle,
"St. Mark's mysterious eve;
And all that old traditions tell
I tremblingly believe:

"How, when the midnight signal tolls
Along the church-yard green,
A mournful train of sentenc'd souls
In winding sheets are seen!

"The ghosts of all whom death shall doom
Within the coming year,
In pale procession walk the gloom,
Amid the silence drear."†

* See Gloss. art. *Gang Days;* and the account of the Rogations and their origin, in this book.

† J. Montgomery, "Vigil of St. Mark."

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Ass-ridlin is another superstition in the northern counties: the ashes being riddled or sifted on the hearth, if any of the family be to die within the year, the mark of the shoe it is supposed, will be impressed on the ashes; and many a mischievous wight has made some of the credulous family miserable, by slily coming down stairs, after the rest have retired to bed, and marking the ashes with the shoe of one of the members.* *St. Mark, Ass Ridlin.*

Penant has also observed, that in North Wales, no farmer dare hold his team on St. Mark's day, because, as they believe, one man's team was marked with the loss of an ox, which died this day. "In 1589," says Vaughan, "I being as then but a boy, do remember that an ale-wife, making no exception of days, would needs brue upon St. Mark's daye; but loe, the marvailous worke of God! whiles she was thus laboring, the top of the chimney took fire, and before it could be quenched, her house was quite burnt. Sure a gentle warning to them that violate and profane forbidden daies."†

In Northamptonshire, on St. Mark's Eve, it is still customary with young maidens to make the *dumb-cake*, a mystical ceremony, which much resembles the amatory divinations practised in other places on All Hallowe'en. In the present case the party never exceed three in number, who meet in silence to make the cake, and as soon as the clock strikes the midnight hour, they each in silence break and eat a portion, and then walk to bed backwards, without speaking a word lest the charm should be broken. Those who are to be married see the likeness of their future husbands, hurrying after them as if to catch them; but those who are to die unmarried neither see nor hear anything.‡ These dumb-cakes seem to be of nearly the same batch as the *Bannock Brauders* or 'dreaming bannocks' of *Dumb-cake* *Bannock Brauders.*

* Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Ass-ridlin.*

† Golden Grove, in Brand.

‡ Hone, Vol. I. p. 523.

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BOOK II.

St. Mark.

the Scottish Highlanders. In baking them, says Mr. Stewart, "the bakers must be as mute as a stone—one word would destroy the whole charm." Every person has one, slips off quietly to bed, lays his head on his bannock, and expects to see his sweetheart in his sleep. The Bannock Brauder are used on Fasten's Eve.* There seems no slight degree of affinity between these dreaming cakes which are to procure a knowledge of the future partner in matrimony, and the marriage ceremonies of the ancient Greeks. When the Macedonians entered into the marriage contract, a piece of bread was divided and eaten by the parties.† Du Cange has made the *Confarreatio* sufficiently popular. The transition from the employment of cakes in the actual ceremony to a divinatory process with reference to the same object, is neither inconceivable nor remarkable.

Leaping the Well.

Alnwick, in Northumberland, is the scene of a very ridiculous ceremony performed on St. Mark's Day: it consists in *Leaping the Well*, or going through a deep and noisome pool on Alnwick Moor, called the *Freemen's Well*, an indispensable preparation for the honor of enjoying the freedom of the borough. The Parliamentary Commissioners on Municipal Corporations give from the "Local History of Alnwick," which they observe, is "admitted to be generally correct as to facts," the following account of the "Ceremony of initiation of a new-made freeman:"—

When a member of a trading company or fraternity has been admitted and enrolled a freeman of the borough, he has to undergo a very singular ceremony of initiation, which is considered essential to complete his qualification to enjoy the privileges of a burgess. It is termed, '*Going through the Well.*'—'On the Morning of St. Mark's day, the houses of the new freemen are distinguished by a holly tree planted before each door, as a signal for their friends to as-

* Popular Superstitions of the Highlanders.

† Quint. Curt. Lib. VIII.

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semble. About eight o'clock, the candidates for the franchise being mounted on horseback, and armed with swords, assemble in the market place, where they are joined by the chamberlains and the bailiff of the Lord of the manor (the Duke of Northumberland), attended by two men armed with halberds. The young freemen being arranged in order, with music playing, march to the west end of the town, where they deliver their swords. They then proceed, under the guidance of the moor grieves, till they reach the ceremonial well, where their friends await their arrival. The young freemen being arrived at the well, immediately prepare for immersion, and after divesting themselves of their proper garments, they are soon equipped in a white dress, and a cap ornamented with ribands. The sons of the oldest freemen have the honour of taking the first leap, and being arranged accordingly, when the signal is given they plunge into the ceremonial well, and scramble through the pool, and after being well drenched, they are assisted out of the puddle at the further end, in a rueful condition. They then resume their former dresses, remount their horses, and proceed to perambulate the remainder of their large common, of which they are become free by this achievement.*

St. Mark.

An anonymous writer furnishes this additional circumstance, that they then re-enter the town, sword in hand, and are met by the women dressed in ribbons, with bells and garlands, dancing and singing. These are called *Timber Waits*. The houses of the new freemen are on that day distinguished by a great holly bush, as a signal for their friends to assemble and make merry with them after their return.†

Timber Waits.

* Report, Part III. p. 1417, sect. 18.

† Lonsdale Magazine, 1822, Vol. III. p. 312. The following extract is a further illustration, "On Wednesday (St, Mark's day) twelve persons were made free of the Borough of Alnwick, by scrambling through a muddy pool, and perambulating the boundaries of the moor," *Sunderland Beacon*, May 2, 1838.

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BOOK II.

St. Mark. Tradition of King John.

The origin of this annual fete is traced to a serio-ludicrous transaction in the reign of King John. According to tradition, during his residence at Alnwick Castle, curiosity suggested to the monarch the idea of arraying himself as a palmer for the purpose of visiting the peasantry in disguise, and, like another Haroun Alraschid, thus ascertaining the opinions of the people with regard to their king.

"Upon St. Mark's day, thus disguised, he sallied forth, and finding a foot-path, pursued it till he came to an avenue bordered on both sides with whins, which conducted him to the well, where he found three tinkers solacing themselves by the side of the fountain, who desired him to sit down and tell them the news. He did so supposing his end was in part answered; but their uncouth conduct and scurrilous conversation soon convinced him of his mistake. After making themselves merry with mocking him, they led him a little below to a boggy bottom, where the strand insinuated itself, and caused the king to travel to and fro, until bedaubed with dirt from head to foot, when they suffered him to depart. He hastened home, and as he passed through Alnwick Street, the people crowded about him, believing that he was either mad or drunk. Tired with their inquiries after the cause of his dirty condition he testily told them, that 'All their posterity should tread in his footsteps.' He reached the castle and dispatched an armed party in pursuit of the tinkers, who were soon overtaken and brought before the king. Two of them were ordered to be instantly executed; the third to whose interference, he alleged, he owed his life, was presented with a handsome sum of money and set at liberty. He then made a law that if three tinkers were ever in future found travelling in company, two of them should be hanged;* and in conse-

* Lonsdale Magazine, 1822, Vol. III., p. 312.—Of course this is nothing more than an idle tradition; but a law not less absurd and cruel was enacted in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by which it was made felony without benefit of clergy to be found in the company of Gypsies, and

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quence of the people's ludicrous laughing at him, he made a decree, that no man should enjoy the freedom of Alnwick until he had travelled through the same slough, that the king had just travelled through."

Rogations.

The *Rogations* or *Gang Days* occur about this period, and are so named from the Litanies or Processions of the church before Holy Thursday. "It was a general custom, says Bourne," and is still observed in some country parishes, to go round the bounds and limits of the parish, on one of the three days before Holy Thursday, or the feast of our Lord's Ascension, when the minister, accompanied by his church-wardens and parishioners, were wont to deprecate the vengeance of God, beg a blessing on the fruits of the earth, and preserve the rights and properties of the parish."

Perambulations.

This rule, however, was not invariable; in a parochial account book, entitled "A Record of the Acts and Doings of the 30 Men of the Parish of Kirkham," Lancashire, is the following entry under the year 1665:—

"Spent on going Perambulations on Ascension Day, 1s. 6d."

The custom, it is to be observed, is not confined to country parishes, but is annually practised during this week in most of the metropolitan parishes at this moment. George Withers has well described both the custom and its object:—

"That every man might keep his own possessions,
Our fathers used in reverent processions,
(With zealous prayers, and with praisefull cheere)
To walk their parish limits once a yeare;
And well-known marks (which sacrilegious hands
Now cut or breake) so border'd out their lands,
That every one distinctly knew his owne;
And many brawles, now rife, were then unknown."*

That the parochial perambulations were a relic of the re-

this disgraceful statute was not repealed until 20 George III,—*Blackstone, Comm. b.* IV., p. 166. The St. 5 Eliz. cap. 3, is only a re-enactment of 22 Hen. VIII, c. 10, go against "Dyvers and any outlandysh people callynge themselfes Egyptians."

* Emblems, p. 161.

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ligious processions is very probable. The term Gang days is Anglo Saxon, and literally signifies, going or walking days. In this sense, the term and the ceremony, as described by Bourne, coincide with the *Ambarvalia*, otherwise called *Cerealia*, which with the *Ludi Circenses*, were celebrated by the Romans about the ninth of April. Hesiod, says Plutarch, enjoins the farmer before ploughing and sowing to offer his vows to Dis and Ceres, holding the tail of his plough in his hand.* It was an ancient ceremony in the time of Tibullus:—

Rogations.

Amber-valia.

"Ritus ut a prisco traditus extat ævo."†

In celebrating these rustic rites, the propitiatory sacrifices, a bull, a sow, and a sheep, were led by the priest and the villagers in procession thrice round the fields:—

"Terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges.‡

Hence one of the names, *ambarvalia* (am, *about* or *ambio*, I go round, and arvum, *the field*) and the other *suovetaurilia:* the object was the expulsion of evil, and the purification of the land:—

Di patrii, purgamos agros, purgamus agrestes,
Vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus.§

In a Saxon sermon, there is a passage relating to the Gang Day, which the author applies to the processions of the Litania Major, April 25. These days, he says, are called Letaniæ, or Prayer Days. On these days we have to pray for abundance of our earthly fruits, health and peace for ourselves, and, what is greater, forgiveness of our sins. We learn from books that the customs of these *gang days* were appointed at the time when at the city of Vienne there

Litanies.

* Ὁ Ἡσιοδος κελευει πρὸ αροτου καὶ σπορου τον γεωργον ευχεσθαι Δἰτε χθονιῳ Δημητερι Ϛ' ἀγνῃ της εχετλης εχομενον. De Superstitione, p. 37. Ed. Glasg. 1744.

† Tibul. Lib. II. El. 1. v. 2.

‡ Virg. Georg. Lib. I. v. 345.

§ Tibul. ibid.

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were a great earthquake, and destruction of men: houses and churches fell, and there came wild bears and wolves which devoured many of the people: and the king's palace was destroyed by fire from heaven. Then commanded the bishop Mamertus a fast of three days, and the wretchedness then ceased, and thence forth the customs of this fast continued every where among faithful congregations.* His account of the object of the Gang Days connects it with that of the ambarvalia. Another Saxon writer ascribes the same object to the *Litania Major* without blundering as to the Gang Days. He says, speaking of the 25th of April, This time is named at Rome and in all God's Churches, Letania Maiora, that is the day of the great petitions. On this day all God's people shall proceed humbly with the holy relics and pray to god that he may grant that year a peaceful time, mild weather, abundance of fruit, and strength to their bodies.† In a subsequent passage he speaks in a more spiritual manner of the Gang days or processions of the Rogations, when all Christian men were required to forsake their secular labour from six o'clock in the morning until nine, and go in procession with the holy relics, keeping a strict fast during the three days. *(Fo.* 104 *b.)* It is perfectly clear that our forefathers observed the Pagan custom on the first occasion of public prayer and procession in this month, and that they omitted it on those days, which were the real descendents of the Cereal festivals, the origin still remaining the same in both. In the processions of the Rogations, the dragon and the cross were substituted for the ethnical victims; and as to early parochial perambulations, Mr. Fosbrooke says, "These boundaries which commonly marked the limits of jurisdiction appertaining to the founder of the church, were distinguished by trees, called '*gospel trees*,' because the clergymen read the gospel of the day under or near them. The processionists carried

Rogations.

Gospel Trees.

* Apud. Hickes, Thesaur. Tom. II., p. 33.

† Bibl. Cott. MSS. Julius A. X. fo. 86. b.

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Rogations.

a cross, or crosses and staves. Boys were taken in order to be flogged at the boundaries for the purpose of fixing them in their memories. Among us a figure of Christ was hung up to represent the Ascension. In some churches, a dragon with a tail, filled with chaff, was exhibited, and emptied on the third day, to show that the devil after prevailing on the first and second day before, or, under the law, was on the 'thyrde daye of grace, by the passion of Jhesu Criste,' put out of his reame. After dinner in some countries, the people went to church, where a wooden image of the devil was placed upon the altar. This was drawn up to the roof, let down by a violent fall, and broken to pieces by the boys. Wafers and cakes, wrapped in paper, were next showered down, and water poured from the beams by way of jest upon the scramblers."* The occult signification of the Dragon at this season, has already been explained.

Ridings.

It is usually, and probably with justice, supposed that the term Riding applied to the division of a county, is derived from the Saxon, ϸriðinga; but Dr. Kuerden, a learned antiquary of the seventeenth century, says, "In Yorkshire a third part of the county is of vast extent, and shires, hundreds and wapentakes being formerly set out *per ambulationem*, by processions on foot, this was performed by processions made on horseback; and hence the name of *Ryding*, as West, East and North Ryding."†

Holy Thursday.

Holy Thursday is the old name of *Ascension Day*. Antony a Wood in his MS. notes to the History of Oxford, describes a singular procession on this day:—"There was some time an auntient custome belonging to New Coll. Fellows; viz. on Holy Thursday, every yeare some of the fellows of New Coll. (with some of their acquaintance with them) did goe to St. Bartholomew's Hospitall, and there in

* Encyclop. Antiquit. Vol. II., p. 500.

† MS. Collect. 4to Cod. fo. 358. In the Chetham College Library, Manchester.

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the chappell sing an anthem of 2, or 5, parts, after that every one of them would offer up money in a bason, being sett for that purpose in the middle of the chappell, after that have some refreshment in the house. Then going to a well or spring in the grove, which [was] strewed with flowers round about for them, they sang a song of 5. parts, lately one of Mr. Wibbies princ. 'Hard by a cristall fountain,' and after that come home by Cheyney Lane and Hedington Hill, singing catches."*

Holy Thursday.

An old Roman Kalendar, cited by Brand, says that on the 30th of April, boys go to seek the May trees;† and in Dryden's time this early observance of May seems to have been customary; one of his heroines:—

May Games.

> "Wak'd, as her custom was, before the day,
> To do th' observaunce due to sprightly May:
> For sprightly May commands our youth to keep
> The vigils of her night, and breaks their rugged sleep."‡

The *May Games* were thus brought within one day of their undoubted progenitors the *Floralia* of Ancient Rome, which were celebrated on the 28th of April, and continued a day beyond the end of the month. Flora, goddess of fields, trees and flowers, was a Sabine deity, who passed to Rome with Tatius, but it was not until long afterwards, about 223 B.C. that the Floral Games were instituted. They were celebrated at first only in seasons, which menaced the city with scarcity, and afterwards, about 156 B.C. they were observed annually. The Romans erected altars to this goddess, as appears from an inscription discovered at no great distance from the villa of the poet, Horace:—

Floralia.

FLORAE.
TI. PLATIVS. DROSVS.
MAG. II.
V. S. L. M.§

* Liber Niger Scaccarii, Append. No. IX., p. 587.

† "Maii arbores a pueris exquiruntur."

‡ Palamon and Arcite, B. I.

§ Fabretti, Inscr. Antiq. cap. X., p. 742.

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May Day.

The first of May is a gala day with some classes of society in many countries, though like most of the other festivals of the Kalendar, it has suffered from the corrosive hand of time. The Italians celebrate it under the title of *Calendi di Maggio*,* and at Rome, young people of both sexes go forth at day-break, to collect fresh boughs, with which they decorate the doors of their relations and friends.

Tramasôts

In the *Tramasôts*, or May dances, in the Bishopric of Mentz, the youth of both sexes, gaily attired, dance and sing before the doors of the principal inhabitants, an old song, of which some of the words are, "Cost Maye, la Mi Maye, c'est le joly moys de Maye, aux Tramasôts."†

Chorostasia.

A custom, very similar to the May Dances, seems to have been the *Chorostasia* of the Byzantines, celebrated at the same season, as is found from an inscription for the statue of Helladia, which seems to have been erected on a spot called Sosthenium, where this festival was held. An annual χορεσασία, however, appears to have been observed not only by the citizens of Byzantium, but by most of the inhabitants of Asia Minor, as may be collected from a passage by Dionysius Periegetes, who looks upon the dance as a performance in honor of Dionysius, or Bacchus the sun:—

Εὖτε Διωνύσοιο χοροστασιας τελέουσιν.

The whole passage has been translated as follows:—

Nor mean the beauties which Cayster views,
Who through rich plains, his winding course pursues.
There lovely troops, whose zones embroider'd shine,
To Bacchus oft, the mazy dance intwine:
There virgins, active as the mountain fawn,
Beat the green turf, and hail the festal morn:
While all around the Zephyr's wanton air
Fills their loose robes and waves their auburn hair.‡

* Described in Castellan's Letters on Italy, Lett. 58, Par. 1819.

† Dictionnaire Roman, Walon, Celtique, &c. art. *Danses de Maye.*

‡ Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, Vol. III., p. 511, 512.

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The Calendi di Maggio and the *Tramasôts* exist at Great Gransdeor in Cambridgeshire. On the evening or night, preceding May Day, the young men (farmers' servants) go and cut the may or hawthorn boughs, which they bring home in bundles, and leave some at almost every house, singing what they call the *Night Song*. On the evening of May day, and the following evenings, they go round to every house where they left a bough and sing the May Song, which consists of sixteen verses, of which the very religious cast may compensate for the very inferior poetry. One is dressed with a shirt over his other clothes, and, decorated with ribbons, is called the *May Lord*; another in girls' clothes, is called the May Lady or Mary; the latter is evidently the remains of the Maid Marian of Shakspeare's time. One has a handkerchief on a pole or stick as a flag, whose business it is to keep off the crowd; others collect money, which is spent in a feast of plumcake, bread and cheese, and tea.

May Day.

May Lord.

All ranks of people in England formerly did observance to May Morning by wearing garlands of flowers, as we learn from Chancer:—

Observance of May.

"The seson prikkith every gentill herte,
And makith it out of his slepe to sterte
And saith, Aryse, and do May observaunce:
This makith Emelie have remembraunce
To don honour to May, and for to rise,
Y clothid was she freshe for the device
He yellew heer was broidid in a tress,
Behind her back a yerde long I gesse;
And in the gardyn, as the sunn up riste,
She romid up and down, and as she liste
She gadrith flouris pretty white and rede,
To make a sotill garland for her hede,
And as an aungell hevynly she sung."

Shakspeare transfers the custom to Athens:—

——"If thou lov'st me then,
Steal from thy father's house to morrow night;
And in the wood, a league without the town,
Where I did meet thee once with Helena,

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To do observance to a morn of May,
There will I stay for thee."*

The custom to which Shakspeare refers was popularly expressed by the phrase, "to go a Maying:"—

"Come, we'll abroad, and let's obey
The proclamation made for May:
And sin no more, as we have done, by staying;
But, my Corinna, come, let's go a Maying."—HERRICK.

Their principal object in the fields was to gather the newly blown flowers and the leaves to form them into garlands:—

———Juratque novos decerpere flores,
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,†

which the courtly knights of Chaucer did not disdain any more than his damsels:—

"And Arcite that is in the court real,
With Theseus, the squier principal
Is risen and loketh on the mery day,
And for to don his observance to May
Remembring on the point of his desire,
He on his courser, sterting as the fire,
Is ridden to the felds him to pley
Out of the court, were it a mile or twey,
And to the grove, of which that I you told,
By aventure his way he gan to hold,
To maken him a garlond of the greves,
Were it of woodbind, or of hauthorn leves."‡

Not much unlike this is the Eastern custom of gathering the first rose of spring, and strewing its leaves in the apartments. It is noticed by Mr. Franklin, in his Persian Tour, under the name of *Gul reazée.*§

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* Midsummer Night's Dream, Act 1, sc. 1, and again
"No doubt they rise up early to observe
The rite of May."—Act 4, sc. 1.

† Lucret. Lib. I. v. 927.

‡ The Knightes Tale. Southey's Edit.

§ Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, Vol. II., p. 53.

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Bourne describes the custom as it existed in his time, and as it exists no longer:—"On the calends or first of May, commonly called May day, the juvenile part of both sexes were wont to rise a little after midnight and walk to some neighbouring wood, accompanied with music and blowing of horns, where they break down branches from the trees and adorn themselves with nosegays and crowns of flowers; when this is done, they return with their booty homewards about the rising of the sun, and make their doors and windows to triumph with their flowery spoils; and the after part of the day is chiefly spent in dancing round a tall poll, which is called a May-poll; and being placed in a convenient part of the village, stands there, as it were, consecrated to the Goddess of Flowers, without the least violation being offered to it in the whole circle of the year.* At an early period, the former part of this custom was observed by noble and royal personages: in Chaucer's Court of Love, we read that early on May Day, "fourth goth al the court, both most and lest, to fetch the flowris fresh and blome;" and in the old Romance, La Morte d'Arthur, translated by Sir Thomas Maleor or Mellor, in the reign of Edward the fourth, is a passage descriptive of the customs of the times: "Now it befell in the moneth of lusty May, that queene Guenever called unto her the knyghtes of the Round Table, and gave them warning that early in the morning, she should ride on maying into the woods and fields beside Westminster." The rural clergy, who seem to have mingled themselves with their flock, on all occasions, whether of sorrow, devotion or amusement, were reproved by Grostete, or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, for going a maying.† The Goths also had this custom of bringing in May.‡

May Day.

May Pole.

* Antiquitates Vulgares, ch. XXV.

† "Faciunt ut audivimus clerici ludos quos vocant *Inductionem Maii*, et *Festum Autumni*, *&c.* quod nullo modo vos latere possit: si vestra prudentia super hiis diligenter inquireret," &c.—Jacob. Law Dict. art. *Maii Inductio.*

‡ Fosbrooke, Encycl. Antiq. Vol II, p. 544.

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BOOK II.

May Day.

Contest of Summer and Winter

From this race of people undoubtedly was transmitted a remarkable celebration of the advent of spring, which prevailed among us and the people of Eisenach in Saxony, and is practised from remote antiquity by the people of the Southern part of Sweden, though the author of a description of a national festival in Saxony, in Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, considers it as peculiar to Eisenach.

As regards ourselves, a figure of death was anciently borne by young men into the villages, from which it was driven by the people, who disliked it as an ominous appearance, while some gave them money to remove the *mawkin*. Its precise meaning under that form is doubtful, though it seems likely to have purported the death of winter, and to have been only part of another ceremony, conducted by a larger body of youths, from whom the death carriers were a detachment, and who bore two figures to represent spring and winter; one of which was called, says Barnabe Googe:—

> ——— "Summer stout,
> Apparelde all in greene, and drest in youthful fine arraye;
> The other Winter, cladde in mosse, with heare all, hoare and graye."

In the Harleian Collection of MSS. is a poem in the hand-writing which prevailed in the time of Edward the Second, on the contention between summer and winter, which opens thus:—

> "Un graunt estrif oy Vantrer
> Ertre este e seire yuer
> Ly queux auereit le seignurie.
> Yuer ad dit onckes eye
> Je su fet il seigneurie e mestre
> E a bon dreit le dey astre;"*

And it proceeds to recount the alternate arguments of the two seasons for supremacy, for it is merely a practical dialogue, in which each sets forth its peculiar advantages.

Notwithstanding the ludicrous incongruity of applying a

* Harl. MSS. Codex 2253, fo. 51.

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modern Italian name to a Gothic allegorical personage, traces of the antiquity of the Swedish celebration, and of its intimate connection with the preceding, are discernible in the following description:—The people in the southern part of Sweden, on this day, have an ancient custom of assembling in the country places, when, for the celebration of the day, two troops of young men, well mounted, are formed as if for a regular engagement. The captain of one of these companies, chosen by lot, is intended to personify Winter, and is, consequently, dressed according to that season in the north. His clothing not only consists of a number of skins, but he takes upon himself to throw snowballs and pieces of ice about him, to prolong the cold. Thus riding up and down in triumph, his valour and hardihood are supposed to be increased in proportion to the time he can continue this exercise. His opponent, who is supposed to represent Summer, is styled Captain Florio; and, as there are scarcely any flowers at this time of the year, he is decorated with green boughs and leaves. These two personages, after much riding and curvetting, contrive to meet and fight: Summer is sometimes assisted by a band of horsemen bearing boughs of birch made green by art; but, however ardent the champions for Winter may be, the people always give the palm to Summer, because nature and inclination dispose them to shake off the iron yoke of Winter as soon as possible. Summer thus obtaining the victory, a general festival takes place, in which the libations peculiar to the northern nations are most liberal.*

At Eisenach, in Saxony, this festival is called *Der Sommers Gewinn* (acquisition of Summer), and the gentleman, who first introduced the notice of it, says that the following is the manner after which it was celebrated about thirty years ago:†—At the beginning of spring, the inhabitants of Eisenach assembled on a day previously set apart for the

* Fam. Mag. Vol. I, p. 38.

† Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, 1808, Vol. III, p. 528, 529.

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purpose, and divided themselves into two parties. The one carried winter, under the shape of a man covered with straw, out of the town, and then, as it were, sĕnt him into public exile; whilst the other, at a distance from the town, decked Spring (or, as it was vulgarly called, Summer) in the form of youth, with boughs of cypress and may, and marched in solemn array to meet their comrades, the jocund executioners of Winter. In the mean while national ballads, celebrating the delights of Spring and Summer 'filled the skies'; processions paraded the meadows and fields, loudly imploring the blessings of a prolific Summer; and the jovial merrimakers then brought the victor-god home in triumph. Such tradition records to have been the earliest form in which this festival was observed. In the course of time, it underwent, however, various alterations. The parts, before personified, were now performed by two dramatis personæ, who, the one arrayed as Spring, the other as Winter, entertained the spectators with a combat, wherein Winter was ultimately vanquished and stripped of his emblematical attire; Spring, on the contrary, being hailed as victor, was led in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, into the town. From this festival has originated a popular ballad, whose stanzas always conclude with this strophe:—

"Heigho! heigho! heigho! Summer is at hand!
Winter has lost the game,
Summer maintain'd its fame.
Heigho! heigho! heigho! Summer is at hand!"

It is worthy of remark, that the day on which this jubilee takes place, is denominated to this very hour, *Der Todten Sontag* (the dead Sunday). The only possible origin to which we can trace this apparently incongruous designation of an occasion where merriment and festivity take the lead, appears to be in the analogy which Winter bears to the sleep of death, where the vital powers of nature seem to slumber till the period of their regeneration. This

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conjecture is greatly strengthened by the subsequent distich in the ballad mentioned above: —

> "Now we've vanquished Death,
> And Summer's return insured;
> Were still unsubdued,
> How much had we endured!"

Of late years the Parnassian spirit of this festival has gradually died away, and woful indeed is the revolution which it has experienced. At one time, Winter, uncouthly shaped of wood, and covered with straw, was nailed against a large wheel; and the straw being set on fire, the whole apparatus was rolled down a steep hill. Agreeably to the intention of its sagacious inventors, the blazing wheel was by degrees knocked to pieces, from the violence with which it struck against the precipices below, and then Winter's effigy, to the admiration of the gazing multitude, split into a thousand fiery fragments. This custom, merely from the danger attending it, quickly fell into disuse; but still a shadow of the original festivity, which it was meant to corroborate, is preserved amongst the people of Eisenach. Although we find Winter no longer sent into banishment, as in former times, yet an attempt is made to represent and conciliate Spring by offerings of nosegays, adorned with birds or eggs, emblematical of the season.

The fiery wheel rolled down the hill in this festival, is manifestly borrowed from the principal rite formerly observed in the celebration of St. John's Day at the Summer Solstice. The allegorical combat of Summer and Winter, or rather of Spring and Winter was probably at first intended to mark the time of the Vernal equinox, and by degrees connected with the numerous ceremonies, which distinguish the commencement of Summer on the first of May. The arrival of this season communicates joy to all the nations of the earth but the jews, who, distinct in this as in every thing else, commemorate it by a general mourning for the death of Samuel the prophet.

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BOOK II.

May Day.

May Poles.

May Day was anciently the Milk Maid's festival,* and it is still in some of the agricultural districts, where the milk maids on this day go about with their garlands, music and dancing; but this, it is observed, is a very imperfect shadow of the original sports; for them, the *May Poles* were erected in the streets, and with various martial shows, morris dances, and other devices, with which and good cheer the day was passed away. "Towards evening," says Stow, "they had stage plays, and bonfires in the streets. Those great mayings and may games were made by the governors and masters of the city, together with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft, or principal May Pole in Cornhill, before the parish church of St. Andrew,† which was in consequence called St. Andrew Undershaft. Of this particular May Pole, mention is made in a poem called the "Chance of the Dice," attributed to Chaucer.‡ A speculator in the art of flying, at the commencement of the last century, mentions the May Pole in the Strand. To give the world a proof of his proficiency, he says, "Upon the next publick Thanksgiving Day it is my design to sit aside the Dragon upon Bow-steeple, from whence after the first Discharge of the Tower Guns I intend to mount into the air, fly over fleet street, and pitch upon the May Pole in the Strand.§ But the May pole of Lostock, a village near Bolton, in Lancashire, is probably the most ancient upon record. It is mentioned in an achronical charter by which the town of West Halton was granted to the abbey of Cockersand, about the reign of King John. The pole, it appears, superseded a cross, and formed one of the land marks, which defined the boundaries, and must, therefore, have been a permanent and not an annual erection. The words of the charter are "De Lostockmepull, ubi crux sita

* Vide Spectator, Vol. V., n. 365.

† Survey of London, p. 80.

‡ Strutt, Glig Gamena, b. IV., ch. 3, s. 15.

§ Guardian, Vol. II., n. 112.

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fuit recta linea in austro, usque ad crucem super le Tunge."*

May Day.

The May Pole, gay with the choicest beauties of the fields, inspired the common people with a poetical feeling, and "softened the rudeness of rustic manners without destroying their simplicity." Sir Thomas Overbury's finely sketched *Franklin* "allows of honest pastime, and thinks not the bones of the dead anything bruised, or the worse for it, though the country lasses dance in the church yard after even song;"† but, the Puritans, detecting Satan in the most innocent and healthful recreations, deemed a dance on the village green to be a backsliding from the Lord, and the dancers themselves no better than "rake hells." Accordingly by an ordinance of the Long Parliament, in April, 1644, all May Poles were taken down, and removed by the constables, church-wardens and other parish officers; but not without resistance. Adam Martindale, a minister who was subsequently ejected from his living in Cheshire, gives in the manuscript history of his own life, an amusing account of the contests, which he maintained with his flock, about the erection of May Poles. Unfortunately it is too long to be extracted entire, but a few sentences may suffice to shew what may probably be considered the *esprit du corps*. "The rabble of youths," he says, "and some doating fooles that tooke their part, were encouraged to affront me by setting up a May Pole, in my way to church, upon a little banke, where in times past the sabbath had been wofully prophaned, as tradition goes, by masking and dancing, and where in my time there was a rendezvous of rakehells, till I tooke an effectuall way to rout them." After enduring the obnoxious pole for a time, he preached to the supporters of the pastime. "I calmely reproved their folly in erecting a May Pole, told them many learned men were of opinion, that a May Pole was a relique of the

* Dugd. Monast. Anglic. Vol. VI., p. ii, n. ii, p. 906.

† Character of the Franklin, Miscell. Works, Lond. 1754.

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shamefull worship of the strumpet Flora of Rome." The parishioners being "nettled," called another worthy, a Mr. Brooke, who had formerly preached in the place, to their assistance, and with what effect let Mr. Martindale tell: "Well, they prevailed, and he came, but when he saw the May pole in his way, he did most seriously reprove their sin and folly, calling them by most opprobrious names, as the scumme, rabble, rifte rafte (or such like) of the parish." At length female interposition determined the squabble; "My wife assisted by three young women whipt it down in the night with a framing saw, cutting it breast high so as the bottome would serve well for a dialling post. This made them almost mad, and put them to the trouble of piecing it with another fowle pole,"—which did not answer, and says Adam, "nothing was made of it."*

Gibbon has effectually vindicated the Romans from the charge alleged against them by the bigots, of having instituted and celebrated festivals in honor of a "strumpet;" though it must be admitted that the Floralia were licentious. "All the ceremonies of this goddess savoured of debauchery; but the season productive of flowers too natually inspires those with licentious sentiments, who have never heard of the courtesan Flora."† Strutt, speaking of the Puritans, says, "Nothing seems to have excited their indignation more than the church ales, wakes and may games," and he quotes a furious but ludicrous invective against maypoles, from Hall's "Funebria Floræ, on the downfall of May Games," published in 1660.‡ This and other authors of the same stamp may have been influenced as much by political apprehension as by religious animosity. Immediately preceding the Restoration, the people had shaken off the terror of their austere rulers, and were resuming their ancient sports and pastimes at the peculiar seasons of

* Birch's MSS. Cod. 4239, fo. 72, 73. Mus. Brit.

† Miscell. Works, Vol. V, p. 452 and p. 453.

‡ Sports and Past. Introd. sect. 34.

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their observance. Among these galling signs of the approaching event, the May Poles and their festivities could not fail to be both morally and physically pre-eminent. The writer of a letter in 1660, dated the 7th day of May, grievously laments "that the country as well as the town abounds with vanities, now the reins of liberty and licentiousness are let loose. May Poles, and Plays, and jugglers and all things else pass current; *sin now appears with a brazen face.* That wicked spirit amongst men, that formerly was curbed and restrained, doth now audaciously and impudently shew itself with boasting and gloriation."* The sports of May, however, never regained their ancient vivacity. The zeal of the Puritans gave them a shock, from which they could not recover, while a fanatical spirit survived, seeking every opportunity of repressing the healthful recreations and necessary enjoyments of the poorer classes of society, and with a consistent prudence abstaining from all notice of the vicious indulgences of the rich. The discouragement of sports in the open air has operated injuriously upon the morals of the people, while impolitic laws for the observance of the Sunday have destroyed the regularity, with which the villagers and towns' people of former days attended divine service; and multitudes now provide liquor to be consumed at home during church hours, resorting to the ale house or the gin shop in the intervals and at the conclusion of the service. This deleterious result was predicted in the much condemned, but little understood, "Book of Sports." All history, and particularly that of religions, teaches that coercion may make martyrs, but never proselytes. The human mind revolts from force, and the more strenuous the efforts to compel it to take an ungrateful course, the more certain will be its progress in the opposite direction:—

"Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."†

* Loud Call to England, 4to. 1660, p. 24.

† To the dubious policy of adopting Pagan festivals for the observance of Christians, it is not unlikely, our legislators owe the trouble which they ex-

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In London, May day is also the Chimney sweepers' holiday, when they decorate themselves with flowers, ribbons and tinsel, and dance about the streets. Dr. Forster says that this practice is likely to become obsolete, "as infant chimney sweepers are going out of fashion from the excessive cruelty necessary to be used in training them to

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perience in enacting laws to compel the people to keep the Sunday. The name *Sonnendag*, the sun's day, is due to the Suevi, who drew their first existence in the wood consecrated with the appellation of their divinity *Sonnenwald*, the wood of the Sun, into which none were permitted to enter without confessing by their servile bonds and supplicant posture the presence of the supreme object of their adoration. Hither at stated times the different Suevic tribes resorted by their ambassadors, and with barbaric rites and a human sacrifice, celebrated their common origin: "Stato tempore in silvam, auguris patrum et prisca formidine, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæsoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia."—*Tacit. de Mor. Germ. cap.* 39. The term *Sonnublot* perpetuates the memory of the worship of that luminary by human sacrifices.—*Loccen. Sueo-Goth. Antiq. cap.* IV. *p.* 18. The emperor Constantine, a semi-pagan, has the honor or infamy of having first made the observance of this polluted day a Christian duty, for which there is no authority whatever in the old or new testament, while for the observance of the Sabbath, or Saturday, there is the positive command of God himself. The monks of the middle ages, conscious of this inherent defect in the Sunday, vainly endeavoured to remedy it by the grossest fictions of divine interference in its behalf. At one time alarming prodigies were witnessed. —*Roger de Hoveden, apud Script. post Bedam, p.* 821; at another, a commission is addressed from heaven itself.—*Ib. p.* 822: and at another time an especial messenger from heaven visits England with the divine injunction to keep holy the Sunday.—*Hen. de Knyghton, Decem Scriptores, col.* 2395. Centuries afterwards the last story was quoted by the "devout Comyns" in the parliament of the twenty seventh year of Henry the Sixth. The people, they say, are "nether aferd of the message sent by our lord Crist, his myld moder, seynct John the Baptist and seint Petir by an aungell in mannes likenesse to kyng Harry the ii. at Cardyf ye Sonday next aftir Ester Day, seid in this maner fourme, We grete the will, commaundyng stedfastlych yt yer be no merketts in the places of thy Roialme, ne oyer servile workes don uppon Sondays, out take the things yat be to use of mete and drynke alonly; the which precept yf thou wilt kepe what yat thou begynne thou shalt graciously eende. Thys y write in ye Cronicle of Policronicon, the vii boke ye xxii. Capitle."—*Rot. Parl.* 27 *Hen.* VI. *vol.* V. *p.* 152, *n.* 6. A curious opinion of Cortaud de la Villate is quoted by M. Eusebe Salverte, in *Mag. Encyclopedique*, 1812, *tom.* I. *p.* 24.

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climb up the flues, and from the adoption of the machine to supersede the use of climbing children."*

May Day.

Fable of O'Donoghue.

In Ireland, it is believed that O'Donoghue, an ancient lord of Ross, who took his permanent residence at the bottom of the Lake of Killarney, "is seen every May morning just before sunrise, attended by an incredible number of followers, wrestling, hurling and playing at foot-ball upon the surface of the lake, which affords them as sure a footing as the solid earth."† This is one of the most beautiful of the fairy fictions, and as it is directly identified with the Asiatic founder of the religion of Scandinavia, it deserves a little more notice. In the second volume of his Letters, Mr. Derrick resumes the subject in the following terms:‡—

"There lived in the largest island, (for there are several islands on the lake [Killarney]) many hundred years ago, a petty prince named O'Donoghue, who was lord of the whole lake, the surrounding shore, and a large district of neighbouring country. He manifested, during his stay upon earth, great munificence, great humanity, and great wisdom; for, by his profound knowledge in all the secret powers of nature, he wrought wonders as miraculous as any tradition has recorded, of saints by the aid of angels, or of sorcerers by the aid of dæmons; and among other most astonishing performances, he rendered his person immortal.

"After having continued a long time upon the surface of the globe, without growing old, he one day, at Ross Castle, (the place when he most usually resided) took leave of his friends, and rising from the floor, like some ærial existence, passed through the window, shot away horizontally to a considerable distance from the castle, and then descended. The water unfolding at his approach, gave him entrance down to the subaqueous regions; and then, to the inexpres-

* Peren. Calend. p. 211.

† Derrick's Letters from Liverpoole, Chester, Corke, the Lake of Killarney, &c. Vol. 1, p. 112, Lond. 1767.

‡ Dated Kilkenny, June 14, 1760.

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sible astonishment of all beholders, closed over his head, as they believed for ever, but in this they were mistaken.

"He returned again some years after, revisiting—not like Hamlet's ghost, 'the glimpses of the moon, making night hideous,' but the radiance of the sun, making day joyful, to those at least who saw him; since which time, he has continued to make very frequent expeditions to those upper regions, sometimes three or four in a year; but sometimes three or four years pass without his once appearing, which the bordering inhabitants have always looked on as a mark of very bad times.

"It was feared this would be the third year he would suffer to elapse without his once cheering their eyes with his presence; but the latter end of last August he again appeared, to the inexpressible joy of all, and was seen by numbers in the middle of the day.—I had the curiosity before I left Killarney, to visit one of the witnesses to this remarkable fact.

"The account she gives is, that, returning with a kinswoman, to her house at the head of the Lake, they both beheld a fine gentleman mounted upon a black horse, ascend through the water with a numerous retinue on foot, who all moved together along the surface toward a small island, near which they again descended under water. This account is confirmed in time, place and circumstances, by many more spectators from the side of the Lake, who are all ready to swear, and, not improbably, to suffer death in support of their testimony.

"His approach is sometimes preceded by music, inconceivably harmonious; sometimes by thunder inexpressibly loud, but oftenest without any kind of warning whatsoever. —He always rises through the surface of the Lake, and generally amuses himself upon it, but not constantly; for there is a farmer now alive, who declares, as I am told, that riding one evening near the lower end of the Lake, he was overtaken by a gentleman, who seemed under thirty years of age, very handsome in his person, very sumptuous in his apparel, and very affable in his conversation. After

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having travelled for sometime together, the nobleman (for such he judged him to be by his appearance) observed that, as night was approaching, the town far off, and lodging not easy to be found, he should be welcome to take a bed that night at his house, which he said was not very distant. The invitation was readily accepted; they approached the Lake together, and both their horses moved upon the surface without sinking, to the infinite amazement of the farmer who thence perceived the stranger to be no less than the great O'Donoghue. They rode a considerable distance from shore, and then descending into a delightful country under water, lay that night in a house much larger in size and much more richly furnished, than ever lord Kenmure's at Killarney."

In the character of O'Donoghue and his acquirements, there is an agreement with those of the conqueror and legislator of the north. He introduced many of the arts of Asia, and his knowledge was deemed miraculous. O'Donoghue and Odin, were, like Bacchus and other divinities, "ever fair and ever young,"* and were both immortal. The voluntary retirement of O'Donoghue to a watery abode is precisely the apotheosis of Odin as a marine deity appearing sometimes as a horse, under the name of Nikke or Nokke, whose functions are now exercised by St. Nicholas.†

O'Donoghue's approach is sometimes announced by soft music: singing was one of the characteristics of the Neck, whose name is subject to such numerous variations:—

"Ei Necken mer i flodens vaagor quäder."
No more the Neck upon the river sings.

At other times the Irish water sprite rides forth amidst wild thunder storms. These circumstances are said in

* A stationary age appears to have been the portion of all the classical deities; but with respect to the Marine Gods, Servius remarks that they are commonly all old, their heads being whitened by the foam of the water. —*Ad Virg. Georg.* IV. *v.* 403. The equivoque of γραῦς, which signifies equally an old woman and froth or foam, may have given rise to this notion. —*Vide Eustath. ad Homer, Il. A. v.* 250.

† Vide suprà, p. 76.

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Rodenstein or Storm of Odin.

Sleipner, the horse of Odin.

Helhest.

Germany to attend the appearance of Rodenstein, another form of Odin, and his military followers in the Oden Wald, or forest of Odin. His approach prognosticates impending war. He issues from the ruins of his castle, surrounded by his host, the trumpets sounding and the war wains rumbling; but when peace is about to be concluded, they return with quiet and gentle steps, and borne along with harmony. The black horse ridden by O'Donoghue is the swarthy steed of the Wild Huntsman; and it is Sleipner, with eight feet, the horse of Odin, the father of inchantments, upon which he descended to the infernal regions, or vast receptacle of waters in the central cavity of the earth, according to ancient belief:—"Odin, the sovereign of men arises: he saddles his horse Sleipner; he mounts and is conveyed to the subterraneous abode of Hela.* Hence is Sleipner also the Helhest, or horse of Hell, bestrode by Hela when she scatters all imaginable evils upon the earth. The horse has before been noticed as a solar emblem, and it remains only to add that the Japanese Budsdo-Siaka, who is the same as Buddha, Buta, Bootes, Fohi, and other Indian personifications of the Sun in the same point of view as Hermes and Mercury, as no less connected with the emblematical horse than Odin, Nökke, and the fabulous O'Donoghue of Ireland.†

Beltane.

Pennant describes a festival, which is held in Scotland on the first of May, O.S. and which merits particular attention, as it retains both in its name of *Beltane* or *Beltein*, and its ceremonies, the most decided marks of its Sabæan or Cabirian origin.—"On the first of May, the herdsmen of every village hold their Beltein, a rural sacrifice. They

* Bartholin. Lib. III, cap. 2, quoted by Mallet, Vol. II, p. 220.

† The adaptation of the name was particularly easy, as a line of Irish monarchs bore the appellation of O'Donoghue. They may, indeed, like our Saxon kings, have traced a genealogical descent from the Asiatic conqueror of the North of Europe; but that circumstance would only further corroborate the connection between the water sprite of Killarney, and the Scandinavian Neptune.

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cut a square trench in the ground, leaving the turf in the middle; on that they make a fire of wood, on which they dress a large caudle of eggs, butter, oatmeal, and milk, and bring besides the ingredients of the caudle, plenty of beer and whiskey; for each of the company must contribute something. The rites begin with spilling some of the caudle on the ground, by way of libation: on that every one takes a cake of oatmeal, upon which are raised *nine* square knobs, each dedicated to some particular being, the supposed preserver of their flocks, or to some particular animal, the destroyer of them; each person then turns his face to the fire, breaks off a knob, and flinging it over his shoulder, says—'This I give to thee! preserve thou my horses! this to thee, preserve thou my sheep!' After that they use the same ceremony to the noxious animals; 'This I give to thee, O Fox, spare thou my lambs; this to thee, O hooded Crow; this to thee, O Eagle! when the ceremony is over, they dine on the caudle, and after the feast is finished, what is left is hid by two persons deputed for that purpose; but on the next Sunday they re-assemble and finish the relics of the first entertainment."*

Dr. James Robertson, minister of Callander, gives a very different account of this festival; but there is no reason to question the accuracy of either. What is done in one place may not be done in another. "Upon the first day of May, which is called Beltan or Beltein day, all the boys in a township or hamlet meet in the moors. They cut a table in the green sod, of a *round* figure, by casting a trench in the ground, of such a circumference as to hold all the company." After preparing the caudle as above mentioned, "they knead a kind of cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one-another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions all

* Tour in Scotland, in 1769, p. 96.

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over with charcoal until it be *perfectly black*. They put all the bits of the cake into a bonnet. Every one, blindfold, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit is the *devoted* person, who must be sacrificed to Baal, whose favour they mean to implore, in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of men and beast. There is little doubt of those inhuman sacrifices having been once offered in this country, as well as in those of the East, although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the *devoted* person to leap three times through the flames; with which the ceremonies of this festival are closed." Dr. Robertson in a note traces the origin of this and other superstitions from our ancient Druidism. "*Bal Tein* signifies the fire of Baal; *baul* or *ball* is the only word in Gaelic for *a globe*. This festival was probably in honor of the Sun, whose return in his apparent annual course, they celebrated on account of having such a visible influence by his genial warmth, on the productions of the earth."*

Black a sacred colour.

It may not be improper to remark that black, which Shakspeare says:—

> ——"is the badge of Hell,
> The hue of dungeons and the scoul of night."

was anciently a sacred colour: it was that of the Apis of the Egyptians,† who, according to Porphyry, represented God by a black stone, in allusion to the obscurity of his nature; and hence the Indians anciently depicted their God Vishnou of a dark blue.

Symbolic Egg.

Dr. Jamieson observes that "Eggs always forming a part of the rural feast of Beltein, it is not improbable that this rite is as ancient as the Heathen institution of the festival. As it appears that the Gauls called the sun *Bel* or *Belus*, in consequence of their communication with the

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* Sir John Sinclair, Statist. Acc. Scotland, Vol. XI, p. 620.

† Εχει δε ὁ μοσχος ὁυτος ὁ Απις καλεομενος σημηϊα τοιαδε. εων μελας, κ. τ. λ. Herod. Lib. III, cap. 28.

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Phenicians,* the symbol of the egg might also be borrowed from them. It is well known that they represented the heavenly bodies as oviform, and worshipped an egg in the orgies of Bacchus, as an image of the world [Plutarch in Sympos. Univers. Hist. Vol. I, Cosmogr. p. 34.] The Egyptians also represented *Cneph*, the architect of the world with an egg issuing from his mouth. In the hymns ascribed to Orpheus, *Phanes*, the first born god, is said to be produced from an egg. On these principles the story of the *serpentine egg*, to which the Druids ascribed such virtues may be explained. As they were greatly attached to mystery, they most probably intended the egg to be a symbol of fecundity, and in this respect, might consecrate it in the worship of the sun, whom they acknowledged, in their external rites, at least, as the universal parent.†

May Day.

Cneph the Creator, & Phanes.

Druidical Egg.

In other circumstances, the feast of Beltein bears a striking resemblance to the *Palilia*, a feast celebrated by the ancient Romans on the 21st of April, in honor of *Pales*, the tutelary deity of husbandry and grazing, whose name bears a great affinity to Baal, Bel, or Belus, the sun; and indeed the Palilia by some are said to have been celebrated in honor of the sun's progress.‡

Palilia.

* Speaking successively of the *town*, the *head* and the *top*, the Cornish proverb uses the words *tre*, *pol* and *pen*:—

"By Tre, *Pol*, and Pen,
You shall know the Cornish men."

The idea of roundness as exemplified in the prominent figure of the *belly* is found in the following words in the Armorican or Basse Breton, the Welsh, Irish and Celtic languages, and are evidently referable to the same root, existing perhaps in the Phœnician as intimated by Dr. Jamieson:— *Bolg*, I. a pair of bellows; *Bol bola*, or *boly*, W. a belly and *bola croen*, W. a little basket, literally, a belly of skins; *Bal*, A. *pel*, W. and *pillen*, C. a ball or globe; *Bolet*, *polet*, A. a bowl for playing; *Buelin* W. *bolla*, *bulla*, I. and billa C. a cup or bowl. *Bhêl*, Erse, the head. See these and many other examples in Whitaker's Hist. Manch. Vol. II, p. 251, 252. The word *goblin* has been derived from God Belin, who is the same as Bel or Belus.— *Adversar. Ger. Langbœn. MS. Codex 7, p.* 402.

† Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. For the *Drudden Ey*, or Ovum Druidarum, *vide Plin. Lib.* XXIX, *cap.* 12.

‡ Fast. Lib. IV, v. 794.

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With respect to the rites of this ancient festival, Ovid, Lib. IV, informs that the performers kindled fires, as the Scottish herdsmen do on Beltein Day, and leaped over them :—

"Certe ego transilui positas ter in ordine flammas."

A large cake was also prepared for Pales :—

——"Et nos faciamus ad annum
Pastorum Dominæ grandia liba Pali."

The Romans had also a beverage somewhat resembling the caudle: they were to drink milk, and the purple *Sapa*, which according to Pliny, was a new wine boiled till only a third part remains :—

Tum licet opposita veluti cratera canella
Lac niveum potes, purpureamqne sapam.*

Bel, or Hercules.

The festival of Bel, or belus, the great Asiatic god, is not celebrated in the Highlands of Scotland only: the country people of Sweden, although they have not the name of Beltein, on the last day of April, the evening preceding the Scottish Beltein, light great fires on the hills and spend the night in shooting. Their memory of the ancient worship of the sun as Bacchus, among the northern nations is preserved in the Julbock. Cicero ascribes the name of Bel, to the fifth Hercules, who was worshipped in India,† and Gerard Noviomagus infers from a marble, which in 1514, was found at West Cappell, in Zealand, with the inscription, HERCVLI MAGASVNO, that the island was sacred to this divinity.‡ Though he probably attaches too much importance to this insulated fact, it derives some weight from the existence of relics of heliacal adoration. Hercules was also the tutelary god of the Se-

* Ovid. Jamieson.

† De Nat. Deor. Lib. III, cap. 16.

‡ Boxhornii Quæstiones Roman. Qu. I. apud Græv. Thesaur.

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gontiaci of ancient Britain. A fragment of an inscription to this deity was exhumed in 1751, at Silchester in Hampshire, 'To Hercules God of the Segontiaci.'*

In Cornwall, the rites of the Druidical Bel are also yet observed, but it is on the eve of St. John the Baptist, when the idolatrous fires are universally lighted up:†—

> Quin et propago degener
> Ritum secuta inconditum
> Quæcunque dirum fervidis
> Baal caminis coxerat.‡

Belinus.

"Another God of the Britons," says Martin, "was Bel or Belinus, which seems to have been the Assyrian God Bel, or Belus; and probably from the Pagan deity comes the Scots term Beltin, having its first rise from the custom practised by the druids in the Isles, of extinguishing all the fires in the parish until the tithes were paid; and upon payment of them the fires were kindled in each family and never till then. On this day malefactors were burned between two fires; hence when they would express a man to be in a great strait, they say, He is between two fires of Bel, which in their language they express thus, Edir ela hin Veaul, *or* Bel."§

"In Ireland," says Mr. Crofton Croker, "May day is called *la na Beal tina*, and May eve *neen na Baal tina*, that is, the day and eve of Baal's fire, from its having been in ancient times, consecrated to the God Beal, or Belus; whence also the month of May is termed in Irish, *Mi na Beal tine*. The ceremony practised on May eve of making the cows leap over lighted straw or faggots, has been generally traced to the worship of that deity. It is now

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* "Deo Herculi Segontiacorum Titus Tammonius, Sænius, Vitalis Corniculàris, honoris causa dedicarunt."—*Phil. Trans. No.* 474, *art.* 15.

† Gent. Mag. Vol. LXI, p. i, p. 294.

‡ Prudent. Hymn, XII, *Epiphaniæ*, v. 193.

§ Descript. Western Isles, p. 105.

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vulgarly used to save the milk from being pilfered by the good people,"* i. e. the fairies.

May Day.

Bal.

Dr. Owen Pughe, who gives a different account of the term *Bal*,† observes respecting these bonfires and their attendant ceremonies, that "Ireland retains similar customs (to those in Wales), and the fire that is made at these seasons, is called *Beal teinidh* in the Irish language, and some antiquaries of that country in establishing the eras of the different colonies planted in the island, have been happy enough to advance as an argument for their Phœnician origin, this term of Beal teinidh.

Carns and Carn-fires.

Wilder Lads.

Great heaps of stones, called *Carns*, have been discovered on the tops of Mountains and other eminences in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, in the Scottish islands, and in the isle of Man. In Lancashire on Horwich Moor, are two such carns, like the Mercurial heaps of the Greeks, and called by the country people the *Wilder Lads*.‡ "On May Day Eve," says Mr. Toland, "the Druids made prodigious fires on those carns, which being every one as we said, in sight of some other, could not but afford a glorious show over a whole nation. These fires were in honor of *Beal*, or *Bealan*, latinized by the Roman authors into *Belenus*, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the sun: and, therefore, to this hour the first day of May is by the aboriginal Irish called *La Bealtine*, or the *day of Belen's fire*. I remember one of those Carns on Fawnhill, within some miles of Londonderry, known by no other name but that of *Bealtine*, facing another such Carn on the top of Inch-hill.§

"May day is likewise called *La Bealtine* by the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemptible part of the

* Fairy Legends in the South of Ireland, Vol. I, p. 308, 1825.

† *Bal*, in British, is a projecting, springing out, or expanding, and when applied to vegetation, it means a budding or shooting out of leaves and blossoms, the same as *balant*, of which it is the root.—*Transl. Llywarch Hên*, Lond. 1792.

‡ Baines, Hist. Lanc. Vol. III, p. 47, 48.

§ Toland's Hist. of the Druids.

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Celtic offspring. So it is in the Isle of Man: and, in Armoric, a priest is still called *Belec*, or the servant of Bel, and priesthood is *Belegeith*. Two such fires were kindled by one another on May-eve in every village of the nation as well throughout all Gaul as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining lesser isles, between which fires, the men and the beasts to be sacrificed were to pass.—One of the fires was on the Carn, another on the ground. On the eve of the first day of November, *(Samhbhuin)* there were also such fires kindled, accompanied as they constantly were, with sacrifices and feasting. These November fires were in Ireland called *Tine tlach'd-gha*, from *tlach'd-gha* (fire-ground), a place hence so called in Meath, where the Arch Druid of the realm had his fire on the said eve. On the aforesaid eve all the people of the country, out of religious persuasion instilled into them by the Druids, extinguished their fires as entirely as the Jews are wont to sweep their houses the night before the feast of unleavened bread.* Then every master of a family was religiously obliged to take a portion of the consecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire anew in his house, which for the ensuing year was to be lucky and prosperous. He was to pay, however, for his future happiness, whether the event proved answerable or not; and, though his house should be afterwards burnt yet he must deem it the punishment of some new sin, or ascribe it to anything rather to want of virtue in the consecration of the fire, or of validity in the benediction of the Druid.—But if any man had not cleared with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the Carns, nor durst any of his neighbours let him take the benefit of theirs under pain of excommunication; which, as managed by the Druids, was worse than death. If he would brew, therefore, or bake, or roast, or boil, or warm himself and family; in a word, if he would live the winter out, the Druids' dues must be paid by the last of October; wherefore I cannot but admire the

May Day.

Samhbhuin

* See Gloss. *Festum Azymorum.*

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address of the Druids in fixing this ceremony of rekindling family fires to the beginning of November rather than May or Midsummer, when there was an equal opportunity for it.

May Day.

"As to this fire-worship, which, by the way, prevailed over all the world, the Celtic nations kindled other fires on *Midsummer eve*, which are still continued by the Roman Catholics of Ireland; making them in all their grounds, and carrying flaming brands about their corn-fields. This they do likewise all over France and in some of the Scottish Isles. These Midsummer fires and sacrifices were to obtain a blessing on the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as those of the *first of May*, that they might prosperously grow: and those of the last of October were a thanksgiving for finishing their harvest. But in all of them regard was also to be had to the several degrees of increase and decrease in the heat of the sun.

"To return to our Carn Fires, it was customary for the lord of the place or his son, or some person of distinction to take the entrails of the sacrificed animal in his hands, and, walking bare-foot over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceased, to carry them strait to the Druid, who waited in a whole skin at the altar. If the noblemen escaped harmless, it was reckoned a good omen, and welcomed with loud acclamations; but if he received any hurt, it was deemed unlucky both to the community and himself. Thus I have seen the people running and leaping through St. John's fires in Ireland, and not only proud of passing unsinged, but, as if it were some kind of lustration, thinking themselves in a special manner blest by this ceremony, of whose original nevertheless they were totally ignorant in their imperfect imitation of it."

Toot Hills.

Hills in England, which have been the site of heliacao idolatry, are commonly called *Toot Hills*, from the Egyptian Thoth, Taut, Teut, Tet or Taautres, who is the same as Mercury, or Buddha, Osiris and Maha Deva. He was known to the Irish as Tuth,* and gave name to the English

* Gen. Vallancey, Anc. Hist. Ireland, p. 519.

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letter *Te*, the Greek *Tau*, and the Hebrew *Thau* and *Teth*. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, they have the term *Baal Hills* to denominate hillocks on the Moors, where the worship of Thoth or Bel has been celebrated by fires, and several places in Craven have received their names from a similar source.* This observation may be applied to the *Tan Hills* of Somersetshire and Wiltshire; tân, in British, signifying *a fire:* and the fires of the two incarnations of the sun under the names of Thoth and Bel are kindled to the present day in Devonshire.†

May Day. Baal Hills

Tan Hills.

One of the Highland superstitions respecting the sun, is called *Deasil*, which Pennant derives from the Gaelic *Deas* or *Des*, the right hand, and *Syl*, the sun. The term Deasil denotes a motion from East to West, or according to the apparent course of the sun; and it is a custom of high antiquity in religious ceremonies. "That the Caledonians," says Dr. James Robertson, "paid a superstitious respect to the sun, as was the practice among many other nations, is evident not only by the practice at Beltein, but upon many other occasions. When a Highlander goes to bathe, or to drink water out of a consecrated fountain, he must always approach by going round the place, from East to West on the South side, in imitation of the apparent diurnal motion of the sun. When the dead are laid in the grave, it is approached by going round about in the same manner. The bride is conducted to her future spouse, in the presence of the minister, and the glass goes round the company in the cource of the sun. This is called in Gaelic going round the right, or the lucky, way. The opposite course is the wrong, or unlucky way."‡ If a person's meat or drink accidentally enters the windpipe, or goes the wrong way, they instantly cry out *Deas heal*, an ejaculation expressive of a wish that it may go right.

Deasil, or Deis-iuil.

Dr. Browne calls the custom *Deis-iuil*, which strongly

* Horæ Momenta Cravenæ, p. 56.

† Polewhele, Hist. Devonsh. 31, 32, notes.

‡ Sir John Sinclair's Stat. Acc. Scotl. Vol. XI, p. 620.

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reminds us of the Jul, or feast of the sun, which gave name to the Yule and Gule of Christmas. His account of it is still more curious, and is as follows:—"A singular practice called the Deis-iuil, existed in the Western Islands, so called from a man going round, and carrying fire in his right-hand, which in the Gaelic is called *Deas*. In the Island of Lewis, this fiery circuit was made about the house, corn, cattle, &c., of each particular family, to protect them from the power of evil spirits. The fire was carried round about women before they were churched after child-bearing, and about the children till they were baptized. This ceremony was performed in the morning and at night, and was practised by some of the old midwives in Martin's time. Some of them told him that the fire-round was an effectual means of preserving both the mother and the infant from the power of evil spirits who are ready at such times to do mischief, and sometimes carry away the infant; and when they get them once into their possession, returned them poor skeletons;* and these infants are said to have voracious appetites constantly craving for meat. In this case it was usual with those who believed that their children were thus taken away, to dig a grave in the fields upon *Quarter Day*, and there to lay the fairy skeleton till next morning; at the which time the parents went to the place, where they doubted not to find their own child instead of the skeleton. Some of the poorer sort of people in these Islands long retained a custom of performing rounds sun-wise, about the persons of their benefactors three times, when they blessed them and wished good success to all their enterprises. Some were very careful when they set out to sea, that the boat should be first rowed about sun-wise, and if this was neglected they were afraid their voyage would prove unfortunate." "These and many

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Fairy Skeletons.

* Vide suprà, p. 206. In a note to his pathetic poem of "The Changeling," Dr. Anster says—"I need not mention how prevalent the superstition is in Ireland, which attributes most instances of sudden death to the agency of these spirits" [the fairies.]—*Thoms, Lays and Legends of Ireland, p.* 60.

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other customs," he adds, "which were peculiar to the inhabitants of the Western Islands, are we think of Scandinavian origin, and were probably introduced by the Danish Vikingr. The practice of turning the boat sun-wise is still observed by the fishermen of the Shetland Islands, where none of the Celtic usages were ever introduced."* They may certainly owe their introduction to those pirates, the descendants, like the Romans and other nations, of the first worshippers of the sun and fire. The same practice as the deasil is mentioned among the religious rites of the Romans, and allusions to it are frequently found in their writers:—

"*Ph.*—— Quò me vortam nescio.
Pa.—— Si deos salutas, dextrovorsam censeo."

Whither to turn myself I know not.—To the right, if you salute the Gods.† It is also noticed by Lucretius, Propertius, Ovid,‡ and others,§ and it is contrasted by Pliny with the act of adoration among the Gauls, who turned to the left‖ as in the Highland *Widersinnis*, a

Widersinnis.

* Hist. of the Highlands, Vol. I, p. i, p. 114, 115.

† Plauti Curculio. Act. I, sc. I, v. 70.

‡ De Rerum Natura, Lib. V, v. 1197.—Prop. Lib. I, El. 16, v. 43.—Ovid. Fast. Lib. III.

§ "Neque aliter adire ausus est, quam velato circumvertensque se deinde procumbens." *Sueton. in Vita Vitell. Lib.* VII, *cap.* 2.—Taubmann refers to Plutarch in Numa et Camilla, having apparently overlooked his life of Marcellus. *Comment. in Plaut. Curc.* I, 1. 70, p. 312, *Ed.* 4to, 1621.—See also *Joh. Schild. in Sueton. loc. cit.*

‖ "In adorando dexteram osculam referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus, quod in locum fecisse Gallis religiosius credunt."—Lib. XXVIII. cap. 2. This passage is quoted by Dr. Borlase, Faber, Gough, Pennant, Jamieson, &c.

Virgil gives the term "sinistra cornix," the *left-hand* crow, to one of these birds which had given notice of impending danger from the hollow of a tree:—

"Ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix."—*Ecl.* IX, 15.

A commentator on this verse ingeniously observes that "in the opinion of the Greeks, good fortune was betokened by auspices on the right; in that

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motion which is opposed to the course of the sun,* and to which the Highlanders ascribe some preternatural virtue, as well as to what grows in that way. Particular attention is paid to this in magical ceremonies, and it is mentioned as the mode of salutation given by witches and warlocks to the devil. A ceremony strictly resembling the Widersinnis was also carefully observed by our Druids,† who evidently received it from the Gauls. It may also be remarked that the Lamites of Tartary perform the ceremony of walking round as a religious rite. This is particularly mentioned in the Tartar romances of the "Adventures of the Beggar-man's son," and the "History of Sunshine and his Brothers." No doubt, that, like most other popular rites, the Deasil proceeds from the East.

These customs unquestionably have their origin in the circular dance in honor of the heavenly bodies, which was in use among a variety of ancient nations, and which was contrived in all probability by the early Sabæans.‡ The very same mystic allusion was observed in the slower and more stately movements of the chorus in the Greek drama: "In the strophe, they danced from the right hand to the

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of the Romans by the sun the left. These opinions opposite in appearance, might be reconciled, if we knew with certainty to which point of the compass in each country the observer faced. We find in the noble speech of Hector, *Il.* xii, 237-40, that in taking an augury the observer fronted the North. A passage from Varro is quoted by Festus Pompeius; "a deorum sede cum in meridiem spectes, ad sinistram, sunt partes mundi exorientes; ad dexteram, occidentes: factum arbitror ut sinistra, meliora auspicia quam dextera esse existimentur." And Pliny, ii. 54, says; "Læva prospera existimantur, quoniam læva parte mundi ortus est." The Romans, therefore, appear to have faced the south; and thus each nation looked to the east for a favorable augury. The modern Italians in drinking in company, or in dealing cards, pass the glass or the card in the direction opposite to our custom.

* *Teut.* Wedersins, *contrario modo.* Kilian.

† Toland, Hist. of the Druids, p. 108. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 127.

‡ Mar. Victor. Lib. I, p. 74, apud Maurice, Ind. Antiq. Vol. V, p. 920. et Faber, Vol. II, p. 113, 114.—West's Translation of Pindar, Init.—Journ. Britannique, Tom. I, *Fevr.* p. 6.

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left, by which motion, Plutarch is of opinion, they meant to indicate the apparent motion of the heavens from East to West: in the antistrophe, they moved from the left to the right, in allusion to the motion of the planets from West to East; and by the slow, or stationary motion, before the altar, the permanent stability of the earth."* The same kind of astronomical dance was used by the Hindoos in their religious ceremonies, and called the *Raas Jattra*, or *Dance of the Circle*,† which they believed to have been performed by the god Vishnou, or the sun, with seven beautiful virgins, or the planets. This number is also that of the Cabirides, from whose idolatrous rites so many of our popular practices and superstitions are deducible. Venuti, in his description of Herculaneum, says that Theseus is supposed to have invented the strophe and antistrophe in memory of the intricate windings of the labyrinth, and also that these movements, with their accompaniments have been received by the Italians with the term "contradanze," *country dances*; as if they were the invention of English countrymen.‡ The *Romeka*, a dance among the modern Greeks which imitates the tortuous passages of a labyrinth, is also believed to be that which Theseus brought from Crete into Greece, when he returned with Ariadne. It is mentioned by Homer in the Shield, and by Plutarch in his life of Theseus. It begins very slow, the leader carrying a handkerchief in his hand to represent the signal which Theseus was to make if he returned victorious; it increases in quickness and then gradually sinks to a slow movement.‡ Though these dances unquestionably belong to the ancient mythologists, they do not

May Day.

Raas Jattra.

Romeka.

* Maurice, Lib. cit. p. 921. Faber, Lib. cit. p. 114.

† Maurice, Ib. p. 922.

‡ "I canti, i balli, e i suoni erano le decorazioni della scena, che a noi sono pervenuti con vocobola Inglese di contradanze, *Country Dances*, quasi invenzione degli Inglesi contadini." Delle Antichi d'Ercol. p. 114. *Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, Vol.* III, p. 306.

§ Sir W. Forbes, Life and Writings of Dr. James Beattie, Vol. III, p. 246.

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seem to be the same as the choral strophe and antistrophe, which were performed in imitation of astronomical motions.

May Day.

Ross, in his additions to the ancient song of "The Rock and the Wee Pickle Tow," makes the spinster attend not only to the wood of the rock, that it should be of the *rantry*, or mountain ash, itself, as we shall see, a powerful specific against the effects of witchcraft, but also to the direction of its growth:—

Rantry, or Rowan Tree.

> "I'll gar my ain Tammy gae down to the how,
> And cut me a rock of the *Widdershins* grow,
> Of good rantry tree, for to carry my tow,
> And a spindle of the same for the twining o't."*

Another superstition, in the north of Scotland, connected with this wood, and relating to May Day, is mentioned by Shaw; that upon Maundy Thursday, the herds cut pieces of service wood (the *Rowan Tree*) and put cross pieces into the clifts in one end of the staff. These staves they laid by till the first of May. On that day, having adorned the heads of their staves with wild herbs, they fixed them over the doors of their cots, and these they fancied would preserve their cattle from diseases till next May.† This, as will presently be shown, was a custom also practised among the Greeks.

Martin mentions another Superstition retained in the Isle of Lewis:—"The natives in the village of Barvas retain an ancient custom of sending a man very early to cross Barvas river, every first day of May, to prevent any females from crossing it first; for that, they say, would hinder the salmon from coming into the river all the year round.‡

May Dew.

The Scots have also on May day, another rite, which is pretty generally observed by the superstitious, or by the youthful as a frolic; it is the gathering of *May Dew*, (the *Ros Madialis* of the middle ages), to which some ascribe a

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* Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Widersins*.

† Jamieson, Supplement, art. *Beltane*.

‡ Descript. Western Isl. Scotl. p. 7.

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happy, and others a medical influence. Early in the morning they sally out in numbers to gather the May Dew. This custom, says Dr. Jamieson, is described by the unfortunate Fergusson:— *May Day.*

> "On May-Day, in a fairy ring,
> We've seen them round St. Anthon's spring,
> Frae grass the caller dew-draps wring,
> To weet their ein,
> And water clear as crystal spring,
> To synd them clean."*

Palingenesia.

May-dew was one of the pretended agents of those extraordinary charlatans, the *Palingenesists*, one of whose methods of resuscitating plants from their ashes, is given in Breithaupt's Hebrew cipher. After burning the plant, and subjecting its ashes to a multiplicity of manipulations, the operator is directed to dissolve them by pouring upon them the spirit of May-dew ("Geiss darauf Spiritum Roris Maialis es sich solvire") and from the solution, a ghostly body will arise, the exact resemblance of the plant, an admirable natural miracle.† It is very possible that the "Spiritus roris Maialis" may be the name of a chemical agent.

May Lord and Lady.

To return to our customs:—"It seems," says Strutt, "to have been the constant custom at the celebration of the May Games, to elect a *Lord and Lady of the May*, who

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* Poems, Vol. II, p. 41. Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Beltane.*

† Breithaupt, Ars Decifratoria, cap. IV. ex. 4. Helmst. 8vo. 1737. He quotes from George Caspar Kirchmaier's Dissertatio Curiosa de Arbore Philosophica, Ramoque Aurea Virgilii. An. 1700. Wittebergæ publicata, sect. X, where this experiment is adduced as an illustration of the Resurrection: "Adeste athei! adeste resurrectionis derisores! si per solam humanæ dispositionis artem tam egregia repræsentari possunt e cineribus, e salibus spectacula, idola, corpora, quid non omnipotentiæ divinæ tribuendum? vivent, sive reviviscent mortui tui, Domine, expergiscentur et resurgent, qui in pulvere habitabant. Nam ros tuus est virescentis campi." This writer certainly looks upon the May Dew to be simply what its name imports.

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May Day.

probably presided over their sports."* It also seems strange that he should write with hesitation on a subject, to which allusions are perpetually occurring in the poets:—

> "Now was the Lord and Lady of the May
> Meeting the May Pole at the break of day,
> And Cœlia, as the fairest on the greene,
> Not without some Maids' envy chosen queene."†

Phineas Fletcher mentions two May Lords, the arbiters of rural diversions, not only on this day, but during the ensuing year:—

> "The Shepherd boys, who with the Muses dwell,
> Met in the plain their May Lords new to choose,
> (For two they yearly choose) to order well
> Their rural sports, and year that next ensues."‡

The origin of this custom does not appear; but as the May Pole and its festivities were assentially rural, and as it is not improbable, that in very early times they were superintended by the principal villager and his wife, of the elective Lord and Lady of the May represented those persons. Now, the Saxons seem to have had an officer, called ceorla cyning,§ the King of the Churls or Rustics, who, although he was a man of the highest rank, may not have disdained the sports of his serfs, tenants, and subjects.

King of Churls.

Robin Hood and Maid Marian.

In the sixteenth century, or perhaps earlier, *Robin Hood* presided as Lord of the May, and *Maid Marian* was the Lady of the May. Their companions were distinguished as "Robin Hood's men," and all were attired in the garb ascribed to them in "Robin Hood's Garland, and other collections of ballads relating to the merry outlaw. In Garrick's collection of Old Plays *(K, vol. x.)* is one entitled "A new Playe of Robyn Hoode, for to be played in the

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* Sports and Past. b. IV. ch. 3, s. 16.

† Browne, Britannia's Pastorals, s. 5.

‡ Purple Island, cant. I. st. 2.

§ At Easter, in 1020, the great mote at Cirencester outlawed Æthelweard, the alderman, and Eadwig, king of the churls.—*Dissert. Sax. Chron. p.* 450.

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May-games, very pleasaunte and full of Pastyme:" it consists of short dialogues between Robyn Hoode, Lytell John, Fryar Tucke, a potter's boy, and the potter. Robyn fights with the friar, who afterwards became his chaplain; he also breaks the boy's pots, and commits several other absurdities. The language of the piece is extremely low, and full of ribaldry. Bishop Latimer, in one of his sermons, says that, coming to preach in a certain town on a holiday, he found the church door locked, and was told that the parish could not hear him that day, for it was *Robin Hood's day*, and they were gone to gather for Robin Hood; "I was fayne, therefore, to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rocket would have been regarded—but it would not serve; it was fayne to give place to Robin Hoode's men.* Hollinworth, the puritanical author of a manuscript history of Manchester, who lived in the civil wars, says that John Bradford, the martyr, "preaching in Manchester, in Kg Edw. dayes, tould the people, as it were by a propheticall spirit, that because they did not readily embrace the word of God, Masse should be sayd againe in that church, and the playe

* Latimer's Sermons, fo. 746. Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. II. (Emend. vol. I. p. 298). He says—"This expression (Robinhoode's men) is not without allusion to the bad sense of Roberdsmen," who were robbers so named, according to the odd fancy of Coke (3 Inst. 197), whose etymologies are seldom correct, from the followers of Robin Hood. From the Saxon hnægl, nægl, a garment, came næpeu, rapine, and neapene, as also nypene, a robber; and in like manner, from the low Latin, *roba* or *rauba*, a robe, we had *robaria*, robbery, and *robatores*, robbers, which, at first, was applied to those who despoiled travellers of their clothes. The Saxons did not use neapene and pypene synonimously, as may be seen at the end of the sermon of Lupus, on Antichrist. The Germans have räuber, apparently from *rauba*; and our Robertsmen, "Roberdesmen et Drawlacches" (stat. 5 Edw. III. c. 14, & 9 Ric. II. c. 5), is *Robatores* anglicized Robbersmen. Thieves and "Robatores" are mentioned by Roger de Hoveden, P. ii. Ric. I. an. 1198. Certainly Bishop Latimer has no covert meaning. I look upon Robin Hood and his men to be ideal personages, who, instead of lending their particular name to thieves, have received it

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of Robin Hood acted there, w^ch^ accordingly came to passe in Qu. Marie's raigne."*

May Day.

Plays of this kind had already, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, been turned against the Roman Catholic clergy—and perhaps the Reformers dreaded the effect of that upon themselves, which they did not hesitate to try upon others. The Rev. J. Brown cites an instance which shews, not what ridicule might be supposed capable of doing, but what it actually effected—and this not to stop *Reformation*, but to discredit *Popery*. Bishop Burnet (he says) tells us that, in the year 1542, "Plays and Interludes were a great abuse. In them, mock representations were made, both of the Clergy and of the pageantry of their worship. The Clergy complained much of these as an introduction to atheism, when things sacred were thus laughed at: And said, they that begun to laugh at abuses, would not cease till they had represented all the mysteries of religion as ridiculous: The graver sort of Reformers did not approve of it: But political men encouraged it; and thought nothing could more effectually pull down the abuses that yet remained, than the exposing them to the scorn of the nation."—(*History of the Reformation*, 1542.)†

The gathering for Robin Hood, mentioned by Bishop Latimer, took place at these times: a number of persons

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from the general term. By an usual transposition of the preposition and chief word, ue ꝑæꝑen, or ue ꝑyþeꝑe, out robber, becomes ꝑyꝑen ue, a robber out or abroad; and robber out, or robbing out, as easily becomes, in vulgar fiction, Robert or Robin Hood. I find no earlier mention of this imaginary hero than a proclamation, in 1439, against Piers Venables, of Aston in Derbyshire, gentleman, who, it is said, with a great number of men in arms, rescued a prisoner from custody in Tutbury Castle, and afterwards, in manner of insurrection, went into the woods of that county "like as it hadde been Robynhode and his meyne," and rode out as outlaws, waiting a time to murder, slay, and other great harmes to do.—*Rot. Parliamenti, tom.* I. *p.* 16. *Rot.* 18 *Hen.* VI. *n.* 30.

* Mancuniensis, fo. 18 MS.—In the College Library, Manchester.

† Essays on the Characteristics, Es. I. s. 8, p. 76-77.

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went through the country, to collect money for defraying the expenses of the exhibition, and for purchasing the dresses in which the performers were to appear. Lysons, in his "Environs of London," preserves the following curious estimates :— *May Day.*

1 Hen. VIII,	Rec^{d} for Robyn Hods gaderyng.....	iiij marks
5 Hen. VIII,	Rec^{d} for Robin Hood's gaderyng at Croydon	ix^{s} iiij^{d}
11 Hen. VIII,	Paid for three broad yards of rosett, for makyng the frers cote	iij^{s} vj^{d}
———	Shoes for the mores daunsars, the frere and Mayde Maryan, at vij^{d} a payre	v^{s} iiij^{d}
16 Hen. VIII,	Rec^{d} at the Church Ale and Robynhode, all things deducted	iij^{l} x^{s} vj^{d} *

In a churchwarden's account, dated 1556, or 9 Elizabeth, is the following charge to his parish—"Payde for setting up Robin Hoode's bower, eighteenpence;" that is, a bower for the reception of the fictitious Robin Hood and his company, belonging to the May-day pageant.† This game was also common in Scotland— *Robin Hood's Bower.*

"In May, quhen men yeid everichone
With Robene Hoid and Littill Johne,
To bring in bowis and birkinbobbynes;" ‡

but as meetings for disorderly mirth, in that country, were apt to occasion tumult, it was found necessary in 1555 to suppress Robin Hood by statute :—"It is statute and ordaint," says the Act of Q. Marie, "that in all tymes cumming, na maner of persoun be chosin Robert Hude, nor Lytill Johne, Abbot of Vnressoun, Quenis of Mai, nor otherwise."

It would seem, from a disbursement in the "Privy-purse Expenses of Henry the Seventh," in 1492, that occasional revels were sometimes called May-games :—

"July 8,—Maydens of Lambeth for a May, 10^{s}." §

* Ritson's Robin Hood, I. p. CIV. iv. Jamieson.

† Archæol. vol. I, ch. 4, p. 11. Strutt.

‡ Scott, Evergreen, vol. II, p. 187. Birkin Bobbins are the seed-pods of the beech.—*Jamieson's Etymol. Dict. art.* Bobyn.

§ Excerpta Historica, p. 88.

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May Day. Folcmote.

Our Saxon ancestors observed the first of May by holding a folcmote, which Sir Henry Spelman regards as a sort of annual parliament of all the people:* such was also the opinion of Somner, who explains it to have been a general assembly of the people, to deliberate upon and order matters of the Commonwealth. Dr. Brady, however, considers the folcmote as an inferior court, held before the King's reeve.† A law of the Confessor seems favourable to the views entertained by Spelman and Somner:—"All the people shall assemble in folcmote once a year, on the *head of the Kalends of May*, and by fealty and oath confederate together, and consolidate themselves as *sworn brethren*, to defend the realm with the King, against foreigners and foes."‡ The Latin writers called the place of meeting

Sworn Brothers.

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* Spelm. Gloss. in voc.

† Ibidem, p. 48.

Fratres Conjurati.

‡ Ll. Edw. Conf. cap. 35 de Greve.—*Wilkins, Leges Angl.-Saxonicæ, p.* 204, *col.* 2. "Statutum est enim quod ibi debent populi omnes, et gentes universæ singulis annis, semel in anno, scilicet convenire, scilicet in capite Kal. Maii, et se fide et sacramento non fracto ibi in unam et simul confœderare, et consolidare *sicut conjurati fratres* ad defendendum regnum contra aliegenas, et contra inimicos, una cum domino suo rege." William the Conqueror, without naming time or place, requires the freemen to become *sworn brethren* for the defence of the monarchy:—"Statuimus etiam et firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius regni prædicti sint fratres conjurati ad monarchiam nostram et ad regnum nostrum pro viribus suis et facultatibus contra inimicos pro posse suo defendendum."—*Decreta Gulielmi Bastardi, Wilkins, p.* 217-18. In the vernacular language, the *Fratres Conjurati* were denominated *Wed Brethren*, or Sworn Brothers. In 1016, Edmund and Canute, at a meeting of the nobility, made peace and became wed brethren—"and both the Kings," says the annalist, "came together at Olney, against Alderney, and became fellows and wed-brethren, and confirmed their friendship both with pledges and oaths: and þe ȝen cynincaf comon to-ȝæðere æt Olanȝe piþ Deoncyncte. and pon þon ceolaȝan and þe þnoðna. and heona cneonðȝiue þæn ȝefæȝtnoðon æȝþen ȝe miþ peðe. ȝe eac miþ aþe.—*Chron. Saxon. ad an.* 1016; *Dissert. Sax. Chron. p.* 291. Kennett has a record, from which it appears that the Norman nobles formed confederacies of this kind previously to the invasion—"Robertus de Oileio et Rogerus de Iverio, fratres jurati, et per fidem et per sacramentum confœderati, venerunt ad conquestum Angliæ."—*Paroch. Antiq. p.* 57. These persons divided the estates allotted to them

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*Campus Martii,** and the time of holding fixed by this law, by the conqueror.—*Dugd. Baron. vol.* I, *p.* 460. A similar division was made between Robert Marmion and Sir Walter de Somerville, who were also sworn brethren in the expedition.—*Ibid. p.* 375. From these confederacies for the division of plunder, it has been supposed that we derive the colloquial term, "sworn brothers in iniquity."—*Jacob, in v. Fratres Jurati.*

May Day.

The bond of union among the Thanes of Cambridgeshire, preserved by Dr. Hickes, appears to be an instrument of contract among wed-brethren—the diploma and constitution of their society.—*Septent. Linguar. Thesaur. tom.* III; *Dissert. Epist. p.* 21. Persons devoted to a religious life also united in this manner *(vide Hickes, ib. p.* 19-20*)*, whence the terms *confratria, confrairie jurée*, &c. used by ecclesiastical writers; and because every member of these fellowships, whether consisting of clergy or laity, was obliged to pay a ȝilƀ, or contribution towards the promotion of the particular object of the society, they were here called *gilds*, corruptly *guilds*—from the verb ȝilƀan, *to pay*: the gilds, it is well known, were the origin of corporations. If the Freemasons have a higher antiquity than these gilds, wed-brethren, and fratrum conjurationes, they are their parents. In after times these associations, ceasing to be honorable, were, as just noticed, formed for the purposes of plunder. They were denounced by the Council of Montpellier, in 1214; Toulouse, in 1229; Arles, in 1231; Compeigne, in 1238; Valentin, 1248; Avignon, 1281; Treves, 1310.—*Du Cange, Gloss. tom.* II, *col.* 960. In a letter of the year 1317, they are mentioned as formed for sinister purposes:—"Sur ce qu'ils disoient que nous avions fait les alliances et confrairies jurées, au prejudice d'eux *(Charles de Valois, et Philippe son fils)*, de leur honneur et noblesse, jurisdiction; et pour ce eussent mis main en nos terres."—*Marten, Anecd. tom.* I, *col.* 1351; *Du Cange, Suppl. tom.* II, *col.* 1085. In fact, the Council of Arles in 1234, cap. 9, calls them "conjurationes, et conspirationes, quæ confratriæ vocantur;" and the Council of Avignon in 1326, cap. 37, speaks of them in terms to this effect—that many of the nobles in the provinces, and others, form unions and societies, interdicted both by the canons and human laws, and, assembling in some place once a year, they make articles and agreements, and under oath they pledge themselves ("vallata ineunt") to assist each other against all persons except their lords; and in every case, one is to give aid, counsel, and favour to another: sometimes they all dress themselves in similar clothes, with curious signs and characters, and choose themselves a chief ("majorem," a "grand"), whom they swear to obey in all things. This description seems to agree with Freemasons and other societies, who, however innocent they may have been, excited suspicion by the secrecy of their union: but the fourteenth century was fertile in singular and eccentric societies, some of which are noticed *infra.*

Gilds.

* "Denuo in *Campo Martii*, ubi illi qui sacramentis inter illos pacem confirmavere, Regem omnem culpam imposuere."—*Simeon Dunelmens. Chron. ad an.* 1094.

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as quoted in the margin, was the kalends of May, or the first of that month.*

May Day.

It can scarcely be doubted that some of the observances of May are due to the *Floralia*, of which the extension from April into this month is of very high antiquity. In Italy an old custom is still preserved, modified according to existing opinions. The first foundation of the *Præstites Lares*, in the houses of ancient Rome, was celebrated on the kalends of May,† and on this occasion the *Lararium*, with all the little images of household gods, was adorned with fresh leaves and garlands. The remains of this ceremony may still be perceived, as practised by the modern Romans: a chair is placed before the house-door, upon which is fixed as image of the Virgin, adorned with garlands, and children soliciting a donation from every passenger, address the men in some such terms as the following—

Præstites Lares.

"Belli, belli Giovanotti,
Che mangiate i pasticiotti;
E bevete il buon vino,
Un quatrin sull'altarino:"

To a woman they sing—

"Bella, bella Donna,
Un bajocco alla Madonna." ‡

Barley Brakes.

The game of *barleybrakes*, as it is called by Burton in his Anatomy of Melancholy,§ was formerly played in this month. It is mentioned by the old pastoral poet, Browne:

"At doore expecting him his mother sate,
Wondring her boy would stay from her so late;
Framing for him unto herselfe excuses:
And with such thoughts gladly herselfe abuses:
As that her sonne, since daye grew olde and weake,
Staide with the maides to play at barlibreak." ‖

* See Gloss. art. *Caput Kalendarum, Kalendæ.*
† Ovid. Fast. lib. V, v. 129.
‡ Kaleidoscope, vol. III, p. 362. Liverpool, 4to, 1823.
§ Strutt, Glig. Gamena, Introd. s. xviii.
‖ Britannia's Pastorals, b. I, s. 3.

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In Scotland, it is called barlabreikis; and Dr. Jamieson gives the following account of it:—

> "In May gois dammosellis and dammis
> In Gardyngs grene to play lyk lammis;—
> Sum rynnis at barlabreikis lyk rammis,
> Sum round abowt the standand pilleris."
> *Scott, on May; Bannatyne, MS. V. Evergreen*, II, 188.

"A stake is fixed on as the goal, and one person is appointed to catch the rest of the company, who run from the goal. He does not leave it till they are all out of his sight; then he sets off to catch them. Any one who is taken, cannot run again with his former associates, being accounted a prisoner, but is obliged to assist his captor in pursuing them; and he who was first taken, is bound to act as catcher in the next game. This innocent sport seems to be almost forgotten in the S. of Scotland. It is also falling into desuetude in the North.* He supposes the word to imply *breaking a parley*. Randle Holme, the Chester antiquary, and heraldic deputy of Sir William Dugdale, mentions Barley brake among the sports which prevailed in Lancashire, in his "Anntient Customs in Games used by Boys and Girles, merely sett out in verse:"

> "Any they dare challenge for to throw the sledge—
> * * * *
> To play at chesse, or pen and ink horne;
> To daunce the moris, play at barley brake,
> At al exploits a man can think and spake," &c.

Many of the games found in his rude verses are now forgotten, and thirty years ago, barley brake was then called *Prison Bars;* but it was not attended with any of that immorality, which Dr. Jamieson apprehends barley brakes produced in England.

Prison Bars.

Several of the superstitions connected with the first of May, seem to have been transferred to the third, the day of the *Invention of the Cross*, and one of the *Rode* or *Rood*

* Etymol. Dict. art. *Barlabreikis*.

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BOOK II.

Rood Day.

*days,** according to the observation of an old writer, whose MSS. were published by Hearne:—"Now you must understand that in our Calendar there are two daies devoted unto this holy wood, the first called the Invention of the Crosse and celebrated the 5 Nones—or 3 daie of May: The 2, called the Exaltation of the Crosse, kept holly the 18 Calends October—14 daie of May. Now because I do not know which of these two daies is intended, I shall take a brief history of them both. For the Crosse is one and the same, though the attributes of Inventing and exalting be divers."† In the old Scottish Acts, *Rude Day* is applied to the 14th September, O.S. and at the present day the same signification holds in Lanark, Roxburgh, and other shires. Old English deeds sometimes specify the month, when the date is on "Holy Rode day;"‡ and that of the Invention of the Cross is frequently styled *Rood Day in Summer*, while the Exaltation is written simply, and without addition.

Some old Scots women are careful, says Dr. Jamieson, on the eve of the Invocation, for the purpose of preserving their work from the power of witchcraft, to have their rocks and spindles made of the roan-tree, or "rantry" (the *Sorbus Sylvestris Alpina*, Lin.), which probably received its name

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* Skinner correctly derives *rood* from ꝓoꝺe, which he explains to be a cross; but it seems to require the word halıȝe, holy, or Cꝓıꝛꝛeꝼ, Christ's, to give it this precise signification. The Saxon Chronicle, recording the discovery of the cross in 199, calls it ꝛeo halıȝe ꝓoꝺ; and in the Judgment by hot iron and water, after the priest had sprinkled holy water upon the domeres or judges, he gave each of them the Gospel and the sign of Christ's rood to kiss, ⁊ Cꝓıꝛꝛeꝼ ꝓoꝺe ꝛacn.—*Ll. Inæ, Text. Raffens. c.* VIII, *p.* 13. See also Ælfric's Epistle to the Priests, in *Bib. Cot. MSS. Cod. Tib. A.* III, *fo.* 103, *b.* Without one or other of these qualifications, it was used for a gibbet or gallows; William I, in 1096, commands that William, steward of the Earl of Ou, or Eu, should be hanged on a rood—heꝛ ꝛe cyng on ꝓoꝺe ahon.—*Dissert. Sax. Chron. p.* 377. Rood, as absolutely a cross, does not seem to have been in use until after the Saxon period.

† Antiq. Oxford, in Text. Roffens, Append. p. 365.

‡ In a deed of the year 11 Hen. VII: "This bill, endented on holy rode day in May."—*Dr. Whittaker, Hist. Richmondsh. vol.* II, *p.* 245.

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from *runa*, incantation, because of the use made of it in magical arts. Among the Greeks, the *rhamnus*, probably a species of buckthorn, was the great ἀλεξικακος, or repeller of evil spirits, against whom it was reputed a sovereign amulet. When any person was seized with a dangerous disorder, it was usual to fix over his door a branch of the rhamnus and laurel; which custom is quoted by Potter as mentioned by Laertius, in his life of Bion the Boristhenite:—

Ῥαμνον τε, καὶ κλαδον δαφνης
Ὑπερ θυρην εθηκεν
Απαντα μαλλον, η θανειν,
Ετοιμος ὠν ὑπουργειν.

"The door of Bion's house is seen
With rhamnus and with laurel green;
That should death come to break his rest,
These may deter the intruding guest."

That the former was the great preservative against evil spirits, is shewn in a fragment of Euphorion:

——— Αλεξικακον φυε ῥαμνον.

"Produced the rhamn', against mischievous ills
An antidote."*

A vulgar name of the Rhamnus in this country is *Christ's Horn*,† and in Germany *der heilige Bawn*, or the sacred tree, which names it has, in all probability received, from its supposed efficacy in counteracting supernatural powers. If the superstition had not been existing in India, we might have supposed its antidotal qualities to have been assigned to it in consequence of its appellations.

Captain Browne says that a twig of the Rowan tree was commonly carried in the pocket, as a preservative against the effects of witchcraft; but, that it might have complete efficacy, it was necessary that it should be accompanied by the following couplet written on paper, wrapped round the wood, and secured by a *red* thread—

"Rowan tree and red thread
Keeps the witches at their speed."

* Jamieson.

† Somn. Dict. Angl. Sax. *voc.* Cal⁊þæppe.

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Lammas Bead.

An amber bead was supposed to have precisely the same effect, if the red silk was attached to it with the above couplet—only the words *Lammas Bead* were substituted for Rowan tree. Among the higher classes of Scotland, amber beads were worn, and always strung with red silk thread.* I suspect that we owe the word *aroynt* to the Rowan tree, and not to the French *ronger*, of which none of the significations agree with its use by Shakspeare:

> "A saylor's wife had chesnuts in her lappe,
> And mouncht, and mouncht, and mouncht:
> Give me, quoth I;
> *Aroynt thee, witch*, the rump-fed Ronyon cries."

Ronyon, indeed, may be derived from *ronger, to eat;* "Aroynt thee, witch," is, on this supposition, *quasi* "A roant thee," or "A roan to thee, witch." Dr. Johnson finds the word "*arongt*, which is probably the same.†

Imperial Tree of India.

The Hindoos have a similar superstition, as remarked by Bishop Heber, near Boitpoor, in Upper Nilia:—"I passed a fine tree of the mimosa, with leaves, at a little distance, so much resembling those of the mountain ash, that I was for a moment deceived, and asked if it did not bring fruit? They answered no; but that it was a very noble tree, being called the *Imperial Tree* for its excellent properties—that it slept all night, and wakened and was alive all day, withdrawing its leaves if any one attempted to touch them. Above all, however, it was useful as a preservative against magic; a sprig worn in the turban, or suspended over the bed, was a perfect security against all spells, evil eye, &c. insomuch that the most formidable wizard would not, if he could help it, approach its shade. One, indeed, they said, who was very renowned for his power (like Loornite, in the Kehama), of killing plants and drying up their sap with a look, had come to this very tree, and gazed on it intently —'but,' said the old man, who told me this with an air of

* White's Nat. Hist. Selborne, Lett. LXX, note p. 192.

† Note on Act V, sc. 3.

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triumph, 'look as he might he could do the tree no harm;' a fact of which I make no question. I was amazed and surprised to find the superstition, which in England and Scotland attaches to the Rowan tree, was applied to a tree of nearly similar form. Which nation has been in this case the imitator, or from what common centre are all these common notions derived?"

Rood Day.

Without attempting to explain the allusion, we add that, in Grecian mythology, the Rhamnus was sacred to Proserpine, or Hecate, the queen of hell:—

The Rowan Tree sacred to Proserpine.

Η και ἀλεξιαρης πτοθους ἀπαμεργεο Ραμνου
Μουνη γαρ νηςειρα Βροτων απο κηρας ερυκει.*

And this is precisely the character of the Eddaic *Ygdrasils Asketree*, under which the northern Gods—the "Aser," or Asiatics, as they are called, in memory of their origin, were wont to dispense justice. The branches of this sacred Ash extend over the world, and under its root is the fountain *Huergeliur*.† It is the chief of all trees—

Ygdrasils Asketree.

"Asketree Ygdrasils
Er ypperst (iblant) Træerne;" ‡

and in the beautiful city near it were born the three virgins, Wrd, or Urdur, Werande, and Skul– the Norner, Parcæ, or Fates:§

Norner.

Sundur bornar Miog
Siege eg ad Norner sic
Eigu thær eit Ott saman
Sumar Eru Askungar,
Sumar Alfungar,
Sumar Dualens Dætur.‖

[Divers maids—the Norner—of no common race, are born there; some are the daughters of the Ash, some are daughters of Alf (parent of the white and black elves), and some daughters of the Duerg, or dwarf Dualen.]¶

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* Nicander in Theriac.

† Edda Island Dæmesaga 14 *(Resenii)*.

‡ Ibid. Dæmes. 35.

§ Ibid. Dæmes. 14.

‖ Ibid. Dæmes. 15.

¶ "The ancient Scaldic writers (says Dr. Jamieson), celebrate a favourite

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The origin of this superstition is, therefore, Asiatic, and has been transmitted to us, not through the Greeks, but directly by our Saxon ancestors.

On rood day, says Dr. Jamieson, many persons in Scotland hang up branches of the roan tree above the doors of their cow-houses, and tie them round the tails of their cattle with scarlet threads. Indeed, great attention to their cows is supposed to be necessary, as both witches and fairies are supposed to be at work in *milking the tether*—an expression which implies a power possessed by witches, of carrying off the milk of any person's cows, by pretending to perform the operation upon a hair tether.* This silly notion is found in the Hebrides:—"A prevailing superstition (says Dr. Browne) existed in the Western Islands, and among the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts, that women, by a certain charm, or by some secret influence, could withdraw and appropriate to their own use the increase of their neighbours' cows' milk. It was believed, however, that the milk

Fairy, or Witch Milking.

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tree of the ash genus, under the name of Ygdrasill. In the Edda Saemundi, it is said—

Aser Ygdrasils
Hann er oegtr vitha.
Grimnis-Mal, str. 43.

[The ash of the Ygdrasil, that is, the most excellent of trees.—*Vide also str.* 32.] This tree was considered as sacred. In that very ancient poem, the *Voluspa*, it is poetically described as the parent of the showers which descend into the valleys.

"In Resenius's edition of the Edda, a long description is given of it in *Fable* 14. Under this tree, it is said the Gods daily sit in judgment; that i ts branches extend throughout the world, &c.

"Gudm Andr, in one place, explains Ygdrasills, *arbor scientiæ*—in another, Askin Ygdrasills, *arbor mythologica Eddæ.*—*p.* 135. He renders the term, *quasi Othini jumentum, vel vehiculum*—Yggr being the chief and proper name of Odin, as denoting that he is the object of fear.

"A curious reason has been given for its receiving the designation of Odin's horse or chariot; as if he had learned the Runic mysteries when suspended from it: *quod forte Odinus ex ea suspensus fuerit, cum runas disceret.*—Gl. Edd. Saemund. vo. Droesvll. It has been said that the Ygdrasill of the Edda is the mountain ash."—*Suppl. art. Roun Tree.*

* Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Rantry.*

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so charmed did not produce the ordinary quantity of butter usually churned from other milk, and that the curds of such milk were so tough, that they could not be made so firm as other churns, and that it was also much lighter in weight. It was also believed, that the butter produced from the churned milk could be discovered from that yielded by the churner's own milk, by difference in the colour, the former being a paler hue than the latter. The woman, in whose possession butter so distinguished was found, was considered to be guilty. To bring back the increase of milk, it was usual to take a little of the rennet from all the suspected persons, and put it into an egg-shell full of milk, and when the rennet taken from the charmer was mingled with it, it was said presently to curdle, but not before. Some women put the root of groundsel among their milk, as an amulet against such charms."* This superstition is not confined to Scotland and its islands, but obtains at the present day among the vulgar in Sweden, and was not wholly unknown in the north of England.†

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* History of the Highlands, vol. I, p. i, p. 115.

† Mr. Baines has given some curious examinations of the unfortunate women called the Lancashire Witches, in the middle of the 17th century, in which this operation is described as performed in a different manner. An examinant deposes on oath, that at a feast of witches on All Saints' Day, at which he was compelled to be present, he saw six of the company kneeling and pulling several ropes, which were fastened to the top of the house or barn, on which pulling there came down the ropes flesh smoking hot, butter, in lumps, and milk, which fell into six basons under the ropes.—*Hist. Lanc. vol.* I, *p.* 509. So that the same process served to plunder the larders, as well as the dairies of their neighbours. Though it does not appear that the other part of the superstition named by Dr. Jamieson had travelled into Lancashire, it is evident that milking the tether was not wholly unknown. The means by which the milk and other victuals came to the roof of the house and down the ropes, may be learned from the "*Malleus Maleficarum*," *Lugd.* 4*to*, 1669, or about 30 years after Dr. Webster had fully exposed, in his "*Displaye of Witchcraft*," the imposture of the Lancashire witch-finders. "The *Maleficæ*, or witches, placing themselves in some corner of the house, fasten a knife or other instrument in the wall, and then, having a pitcher between their knees, apply their hands in the manner of

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To make their cows *luck*, or prosper, it is believed to be only necessary to milk a little out of each teat on the ground; but that the reverse will be the case if the ceremony be neglected. This is evidently a Pagan rite, being a libation to the old Gothic or German deity, *Hertha*, the Earth—or to the fairies. A similar superstition prevails in the north of

Pankail.

Scotland with respect to the *Pankail*, a broth made of coleworts. Of old, in preparing this, the meal which rose as the scum of the pot was not put into any dish, but thrown among the ashes, from the notion that it went to the use of the fairies, who were supposed to feed upon it.* This ce-

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milking, at the same time invoking the devil, who is ever ready to assist them, and naming whose cow they are pretending to milk. The devil immediately empties the cow's udders, and brings the milk to the witch's residence, where it flows down the instrument in the wall into the pitcher: "tunc subito diabolus ex mammillis illius vaccæ lac recepit, et ad locum ubi Malefica residet, et quasi de illo instrumento fluat, reponit"—*p.* 354.

* Jamieson, Etym. Dict. art. *Rude Day.* English fairies seem to have been of a more ethereal nature—thus Shakspeare:

> "*Bel.*—But that it eats our victuals, I should think
> Here was a fairy." *Cymbel. Act* III, *sc.* 6.

Yet may this refer to the coarse quality of the food; Guiderius had just before said—

> "There's cold meat i'the cave; we'll browze on that,
> Whilst what we have killed be cook'd."

Still we may contend that they had a more dainty appetite than the Scottish fairies, who, it seems, did not reject the scum of "Scotch broth." Ours are known to have had an Epicurean fancy for cream; and Milton tells us—

> "——— How the drudging Goblin swet
> To earn his cream-bowl duly set."

Randolph, in his Amyntas, makes the fairies the progeny of Pan—"Nos beati Fauni proles."—See *Keightley's Fairy Mythol. vol.* II, *p.* 148. And his principal luxury was delicious fruit; thus Fletcher's Satyr:

> "These are of that luscious meat,
> The great god Pan himself doth eat:
> All these and what the woods can yield,
> The hanging mountain or the field,
> I freely offer."

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remony resembles one among the ancient Romans, who, in order to consecrate any kind of food, generally threw a part of it into the fire as an offering to the *Lares*, or household gods, who, from the patella, or sacrificing dish sometimes used on these occasions, were called *Dii Patellarii*.* A good citizen, say both Livy and Varro, ought to obey, revere the Gods, and "in patellam dare μικρον κρεας," [offer them a piece of his meat upon the patella.] It is not a little singular to find a similar custom prevalent among the savage nations of Hudson's Bay. Mr. Robson says that those savages have an imperfect tradition, that all the inhabitants of the country were formerly drowned in an inundation, with the exception of *eight* persons (the number of the Cabiric deities), who preserved themselves in a canoe. They hold in dread a malevolent being, whom they endeavour to propitiate, by casting into the fire a piece of meat before they commence their meals.† The rite of the ancient Egyptians, who poured pure water upon the ground,‡ in one respect more nearly resembled the Scottish libation noticed here, and that practised in the Beltein.

Rood Day.

Dii Patellarii.

In "Extracts from the Register at Abbington," taken in the year 1638, and lent to Hearne, the learned antiquary, is an account of an annual festival kept by the Fraternity of

Holy Cross Festival.

* Jamieson, ibid. The Roman *Lares* have no doubt given rise to the household goblins of both North and South Europe. Mr. Roby applies the term *Bar gaist* to a spirit of this kind in his *Lancashire Legends*, of whom he relates a story *(vol. II, p, 289)* which is also told of a *Niss* in Denmark. —*See Keightley's Fairy Mythol.* A spirit, habited in a cloak and a high-peaked red cap, formerly occupied the cellars and vaults of old manor-houses in that county. Of its particular freaks, the steam-engine and its concomitants have expelled the remembrance. It was evidently the *Hüdekin* of Germany, and had perhaps existed from the time of the Saxons. The Devil Puck of the monastery of Schweren, before noticed *(suprà, p. 128, note ult.)*, belongs to the same species.

† An Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay, from 1733 to 1736, and from 1744 to 1747, by Joseph Robson, &c.; ap. *Journal Britan. an.* 1752, *tom.* IX, *p.* 165.

‡ Bulenger de Conviviis, lib. III, cap. 34.

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the Holy Cross at Abbington, which is too curious to be mutilated by abridgment:—

Rood Day.

"The Fraternity of the Holy Crosse in Abbingdon, in Henry 6. tyme being there where now the Hospitall is, did every yeare keepe a Feast, and then they used to have twelve Preistes to sing a *Dirige*, for which they had fourpence a peece. They had also twelve minstrells, some from Coventre, and some from Maidenhith, who had two shillings and threepence apeece, besides their dyet and horsemeat. This was in the raigne of Hen. 6. Observe that in those dayes they payd theyre minstrells better than theyre preistes.

"Theyre Feast they kept yearely on the Invention of the Holy Crosse, viz. the thirde of Maye. They had at theyre feast six calves, jj^{s} ii^{d} a peace. sixteene lambes xii^{d} apeece. 80 capons iii^{d} apeece. 80 gees 2^{d} ob. apeece. 800 egges, which costs fivepence the hundred, and many marrowe-bones, much fruit, spice, a great quantity of mylk, creame and floure. wheate was then xii^{d} the quarter in the 23 Hen. 6. besides what theyre servantes and others brought in, and Pageantes, and Playes and May Games to captivat the sences of the zealous beholders, and to allure the people to the greater liberalitye. For they did not make theyre feastes without profit. For those that sat at dyner payd one rate, and those that stood payd an other." *

Wages of Minstrels.

Notwithstanding the satyrical observation respecting the payment of the minstrels and priests, the former, apart from the latter, were not extravagantly rewarded, according to the instances of remuneration to the professors of the *gai science*, collected by Strutt and Warton.† The following list of wages and occasional gifts to minstrels, poets, and glee-women, is selected from the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Seventh," in the *Excerpta Historica*, where are many others, proving that this monarch had so much

* Lib. Nigr. Scaccarii, Append. N. XII, p. 599.

† Glig Gamena, b. III, ch. 3, sect. 21-22. Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. I, p. 90, note 92; vol. II, passim.

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literary and musical taste, as to overcome the fondness for money with which he is charged:

Rood Day.

"Sept. 5 (1493), To the young damoyselle that daunceth, £30."
"Mar. 2 (1494), To the king's piper for a rewarde, 6s 8d"
"May 3 (1495), To nine trumpettes, for their wages, £18.
To four shakbusshes for their wages, £7."
To three string mynstrels for their wags, £5."
"Nov. 3 (1495), To a woman that singeth with a fidell, 2s"
"Sep. 20 (1496), To the blynde poet* in rewarde, £20."
"Jan. 7 (1497), To two new grete gestes,† £1. 13 4."
To a litelle mayden that daunceth, £12."
"Feb. 4 (1498), To my lorde prince poete, £3 6 8."
"Feb. 28 (1499), To master Bernerde the blynde poete, £6 13 4."‡

Precautions against Witches.

A superstitious regard to this season has prevailed in Germany. There, witches are supposed to have peculiar power in the beginning of May. Among the Bructeri, as well as in Ireland, according to Camden, a woman who first applied on May Day to a neighbour, for a lighted coal to kindle her fire, was believed to be a witch; and the superstitious in Scotland on the two Rood days, as well as on Christmas, New Year's Day, and Hansel Monday, will not allow a bit of kindled coal to be carried out of his own house to a neighbour's lest it should be employed for the purposes of witchcraft.§ It may also be noticed that a popular opinion, confined to no particular region, prevails, that evil spirits are to be scared away by sign of the cross; but this rule is not infallible, for in the "True and Faithful Relation of what passed between Dr. Dee and some Spirits," we learn that the Devil appeared to the Doctor "as an angel, in a white robe, holding a bloody crosse in his right hand, the same hand being also bloody," and in this guise

* Bernard Andreas, poet laureat in this, and in the reigne of Henry the Eighth.

† Probably composed for the Christmas entertainments.

‡ Excerpta Historica, p. 94, 97, 102, 105, 109, 111, 116, 124.

§ Keysler, Antiq. Septent. p. 90-91. Jamieson.

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he prayed, and "anabaptistically bewailed the wickednesse of the world."* The Swedish imp, spell-bound to a stone cross, has been mentioned.

Whitsuntide.

The earliest day on which the moveable feast of *Pentecost* can occur is May 10; by us it is popularly called *Whitsuntide*,† the *Dominica Alba* of the middle ages, because the catechumens, newly baptized, appeared from Easter to Whitsuntide in white garments; hence *White Sunday*, Anglo-Sax. Þyrta Sonnan-dæg—Teuton. *Weissentag*. The author of a manuscript, "Tractatus de Virtutibus et Vitiis," gives a less probable reason for this appellation:—It is called in English *Wytesonday* (he says), because our ancestors were accustomed to give all the milk of their sheep and cows to the poor for the love of God, that they might become more pure and fit to receive the Holy Ghost.‡ The author of the "Festival of Englisshe Sermones" supplies a more spiritual etymology than either of the preceding. He says—"this day is called *Wytsonday*, by cause the holy ghoost brought wytte and wysdom in to Cristis discyples, and so by her prechying after in to all cristendom."§

Ancient Horse Races.

The Whitsuntide holidays were celebrated by the different pastimes which exhilarated other festivals. In the ancient romance of Syr Bevys of Hampton, we find that the gentry amused themselves with horse-races:—

> "In somer at Whitsontide,
> Whan knightes most on horsebacke ride;
> A cours, let they make on a daye,
> Steedes and palfraye, for to assaye;

---

* Casaubon, edit. from Dee's MSS. P. I, p. 22. Fol. 1659.

† *Hebdomadas in Albis; Pascha Rosaceum, Rosada, Rosarum; Rosalia; Rozatum Pascha; Simaigne de Pentecoste; Wissonday, Wytesoneday; Dominica Matthæi.*

‡ "Dicitur Anglice *Wytesoneday* quia prædecessores nostri, omne lac ovium et vaccarum suarum solebant illo die dare pauperibus pro Dei amore, ut puriores fierent ad Spiritum Sanctum recipiendum."—*Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Codex* 1963.

§ Fo. liii. Hearne's Gloss. to Robert of Glouccster, p. 738.

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Whiche horse that best may ren,
Three myles the cours was then,
Who that might ryde him shoulde
Have forty pounds of redy golde." *

The *Whitsun Ales*, and other customs formerly observed at this season, are almost wholly obsolete. At these ales the Whitsun Plays were performed; and Shakspeare, speaking of the plot of his own "Pericles, Prince of Tyre," says in the prologue—

"It hath been sung at festivals,
On ember eves and holy ales."

From the prologue to Robert of Brunne's translation (written in 1303) of Grosthead's "Manuel Peche," it appears that the poem was intended to be recited at ales:—

"For many beyn of such manere
That talys and rymys wyle blethely here,
In gamys and festys at the ale
Love men to lestene trotonale." †

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* Strutt, Glig Gamena, b. I, ch. 3, sect. 3.

† Warton's Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. I, p. 59-60. In the note, he quotes other passages in which *ale* occurs in this sense; and he conjectures that Chaucer's *Alestake* (Prol. V, 669) is a May-pole; and in *vol.* III, *p.* 128-9, note on *Bridal*, the Saxon for a nuptial feast, Chaucer's words are quoted—

"A gerlonde hadde he sette upon his hede,
As gret as it were an alestake."

What the alestake precisely was, does not appear from this passage; but stakes driven in the ground before houses of entertainment, to shew that ale was sold there were called by this name:—"For the *alepole* doth but signifye that there is good ale in the house where the alepole standeth, and wyll tell him that he must goo nere the house, and there he shall finde the drink, and not stand sucking the alepole in vayne."—*A Boke made by Johan Fryth, b.* IV.

Bridal is not exactly the Saxon for a nuptial feast, but an English word, from the Saxon bṙýƀ-ealа, bṙýƀ-ealoð, or bṙýƀ-ealo, according to a proverbial distich, made on a marriage formed by the command of William the Conqueror, in 1075:—

Ðæṙ pæṙ þ bṙýƀ-ealo
Ðæt pæṙ manegṙa manna bealo.

There was that bride-ale,
That wes of many men the bale.

Chron. Saxon. ad an. 1075—*Dissect. Sax. Chron. p.* 340

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Chaucer and Pierce Plowman employ the word *nale*, to designate a parish feast: the first says—

Whitsuntide.

" And maden him grete festis at the *Nale*;"

Nale.

and the latter—

" And than satten some, and song at the *Nale*,
And holpen crie his halfe acre, with hey, trolly, lolly."*

Church, or Holy Ales.

The holy ales, or church ales, called also *Easter ales* and *Whitsun ales*, from their being sometimes held on Easter Sunday and Whit-Sunday, or on some of the holidays that follow them, certainly originated, says Strutt, from the wakes.† Others, however, trace them to the αγαπαι, or love feasts of the early Christians; and, as to the word *ale*, Mr. Douce observes that much pains have been taken, for one cannot call it learning. The best opinion, however, seems to be that, from its use in composition, it means nothing more than a feast or merry-making, as in the words *Leet-ale, Lamb-ale, Whitsun-ale, Clerk-ale, Bread-ale, Church-ale, Scot-ale, Midsummer-ale*, &c. At all these feasts ale appears to have been the predominant liquor, and it is exceedingly probable that, from this circumstance, the metonymy arose. Dr. Hickes informs us that the Anglo-Saxon *Geol*, the Dano-Saxon *Iol*, and the Icelandic *Ol*, respectively, have the same meaning; and perhaps Christmas was called by our northern ancestors *Yule*, or the feast, by way of pre-eminence. The churchwardens and parish-officers of olden times, unversed in etymologies, took ale to be a liquor, and were wont to lay in a large quantity of malt, which they brewed into strong ale, and sold it to the populace in holiday times, applying the money received on these occasions to the repair of the church, or to the relief of the

* Dr. Jamieson notices this passage, as bearing a striking resemblance to the Northern Yule cry of " Hogmaney, trollolay" *(suprà, p. 122)*, and suggests that it has affinity to the Sueo-Gothic *trolla*, incantare—and *tralla*, to sing.

† Glig Gamena, b. IV, ch. 3, sect. 30.

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poor. Aubrey's description of a Whitsun-ale is, that "in every parish was a church-house, to which belonged spits, crooks, and other utensils for dressing provisions. Here the housekeepers met. The young people were there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts, &c. the ancients sitting gravely by and looking on." An arbour, called Robin Hood's Bower, was erected in the church-yard, and here maidens stood gathering contributions. *Whitsuntide.*

In Lancashire, we find the term *Gyst-ale,* which seems to be one of the corruptions of disguising, as applied to mumming, and in this sense the entire name, Gyst-ale, is confirmatory of Mr. Douce's observations. Gyst-ale, or guising, says Mr. Baines, was celebrated in Eccles with much rustic splendour at the termination of the marling season, when the villagers, with a king at their head, walked in procession with garlands, to which silver plate was attached, which was contributed by the principal gentry in the neighbourhood. The object of ambition was to excel in the splendour of their procession; and in the year 1777, it is said by the author of an obscurely-written book, under the title of "the History of Eccles and Barton's contentious War," that the guisers in the latter township collected and expended £644, 17*s.* in this idle parade, while the Eccles guisers expended no less a sum than £1,881. 5*s.* 6*d.* in the same contest, raised by collections from the gentry and the neighbouring farmers. To stimulate liberality, the sum given by each individual was publicly announced, and the treasurer of the feast, on hearing it, exclaimed "A largesse," on which the people demanded from whom, when the name of the donor was proclaimed, with the affix "My Lord" attached to it.* *Gyst Ale.*

In the northern parts of England, a feast or entertainment is made at funerals, called *Arvil,* or, more correctly, *Arval Supper.* On these occasions, arval bread is distri- *Arval Supper.*

* Hist. Lanc. vol. III, p. 124-125.

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BOOK II.

Whitsuntide.

buted to the guests; and the terms arvil, arval, and arfal, are applied to the funeral solemnities:—

"Come bring my jerkin, Tibb, I'll to the arvil,
Yon man's dea seay seoun, it makes me marvel."*

In Lancashire, the funeral was formerly celebrated with great profusion in meat and drinks, to which was added, in those of the richer sort, what was called a penny dole, or promiscuous distribution of that sum, anciently delivered in silver, to the poor—the effect of which, says Lucas (quoted by Dr. Whitaker), was such, that he had seen many "who would rather go seven or eight miles to a penny dole, than earn sixpence in the same time by laudable industry." After the interment, the relations first, and next their attendants, threw sprigs of bay, rosemary, or other odoriferous evergreens, which had been previously distributed among them; the company then adjourned to a neighbouring public house, where they were severally presented with a cake and ale, which was called an arval. As to the origin of the word, Dr. Whitaker has the following strained conjecture:—"For this word, which is unquestionably of considerable antiquity, I have vainly sought in every etymologicon to which I have access. In Kirchmann, de Funeribus Romanorum (p. 554), however, I find the word *arferial*, in the sense of aqua, quæ inferis libabatur. Take out the middle syllables eri, and there remains arfal. But this ceremony was certainly very different from the distribution now in question, and I offer the conjecture with very little confidence."† Equally erroneous are the editors of the "Encyclopædia Perthensis," who refer the term arvil to the *arthel* of the statute, 26 Henry VIII, cap. 6, s. 5; for the latter is a British word, signifying a voucher, and applied in the case of a man taken with stolen goods in his possession.‡

Arval Cake

* Yorkshire Dialect, p. 98. Jacob.

† Hist. Richmondshire, vol. II, p. 298.

‡ Ruffhead, Stat. at Large, vol. II, p. 210; note.

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Whitsuntide.

It is singular that Dr. Whitaker, who frequently affects to derive proper names from the ancient languages of the North, should have overlooked the Sueo-Gothic *arföl*, which is a compound of *arf*, inheritance, and *öl*, ale, expressive of a feast given by the heir at the funeral, on succeeding to the estate.* The feast and its name were imported to us by the Danes, whose *arfwöl* is described by Olaus Wormius as a solemn banquet, celebrated by kings and nobles in honour of deceased relations, whom they are succeeding;† and, having added that none could succeed to an inheritance without first entertaining his friends and the nobles, Wormius, the Danish antiquary, cites a remarkable example from the Life of the Norwegian earl, Haquin, where Sueno Tuiskeg, or Suenotto, king of Denmark, when about to assume the government on the death of Harald, invited not only the nobility, but the Julinensian pirates, to a solemn arfwöl, at which, after draining vast bowls of ale to his father's memory, he bound himself by an oath to invade England within three years, and to kill or expel Adelward (Ethelred) from the throne. The pirates, in like manner, engaged themselves to accompany him in the expedition.‡

Funeral Races of the Esti, or Estonians.

In the account of a voyage up the Baltic, given by Wulfstan to our King Alfred, he describes a curious custom at the funerals of Esti or Osti, who, he says, could artificially freeze ale in summer or winter, and preserve by artificial cold dead bodies from putrefaction so long as six months. This custom, although attended by revelling, differs in its object from the arval supper, which was a celebration of the heir's taking possession of the estate. The following is a translation from the Saxon:—

There is a custom among the Estonians, that when a

* "Arföl, silicernium, convivium funebre, atque ubi cernebatur hereditas, celebratum."—*Ihre, Gloss. Sueo-Goth. tom.* I, *p.* 106.

† "Convivium nempe solemne, quod reges et magnates in parentis defuncti celebrabant honorem, cum in regno et bonis dabatur successio."—*Monumenta Danica, cap.* 6: *see also Jamieson, Suppl. v.* Arval.

‡ Mon. Danic. c. 6.

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Whitsuntide.

man dies, the corpse continues unburnt with the relations and friends a month or two, and the bodies of the kings and great men (according to their respective wealth), lie for half a year, before the corpse is burned; and the corpse continues above ground in the house; during this time drinking and sports last till the day on which the body is consumed. Then, when it is carried to the funeral pile, the substance of the deceased (which remains after these drinking festivities and sports) is divided into five or six heaps (and sometimes more), according to his wealth. These heaps are disposed on a space of one mile—the largest heap at the greatest distance from the town, then the next, and so, gradually, the smaller at the least intervals, till all the wealth is divided on the one mile, so that the least heap shall be nearest the town where the corpse lies.

Then all those are to be summoned who have the fleetest horses in the country, within the distance of five or six miles* from these heaps, and they all race toward the prizes; then comes the man that hath the swiftest horse to the most distant and largest heap, and so each after the other, till the whole is seized upon. He obtains, however, the least heap, who takes that which is nearest the town; and then every one rides away with his share: on account of this custom, fleet horses are excessively dear. When the wealth of the

* These are the words of Daines Barrington, whose translation *(Orosius, p.* 16-20*)* is followed whenever it is correct, which is not always the case; for it varies throughout from the original MS. *(Bibl. Cott. Tiber. B.* I.*)* Dr. Ingram, instead of the words "distance of," has "for a wager of skill," and omits the number of miles limiting the circuit; but the original is ꝑon hpæꝛa, *for at least*, or, as the vulgar phrase has it, *for a matter of*, so that Barrington is right. Besides, they did not contend for a wager of skill, but for positive prizes. The Doctor, however, had taken it into his head that these contests were analogous to our horse-races—that the Estonians introduced them into Britain, and that Stonehenge (which, he says, should be called Stone-ridge—though the name clearly refers to the stones supported by two others) was nothing more than a huge hippodrome, or race-course, to be used previous to the cremation of a corpse.—See his *Inaugural Lecture, Oxford*, 1807. A collector of the hypotheses of antiquaries might produce a whimsical book.

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deceased has been thus exhausted, then they carry the corpse from the house and burn it, together with his weapons and clothes—and generally they spend all his wealth, by the protracted continuance of the corpse in the house, and by the property laid in the road, which is run for and taken away by the strangers. *Whitsuntide.*

The custom of burning the dead was introduced by Odin, the Asiatic, and it therefore does not occasion surprise to learn, from Dr. Jamieson's researches, that among the northern nations the *Suttee* was occasionally solemnized.* From these customs originated our bon, or rather bone-fires; when (after the introduction of Christianity) the funeral pile was abolished, bones and filth were collected for occasional fires.†

The statute of 26 Henry VIII, cap. 6, so erroneously cited by the Scottish encyclopedists, prohibits persons, without licence, from collecting any *Commorth, Bydale,* or *Tenant's Ale,* under colour of marrying, &c. on pain of a year's imprisonment. "Commorth" was a contribution formerly collected on marriages, or when young priests first sung masses.‡ The "bydale," from the Saxon bibian, to pray, beg, entreat, is an invitation to drink ale, after the manner of house-warming in some places, where persons are invited and visited on their first commencement of housekeeping. In the statute, it is used synonimously with bridal, while tenant's ale seems to be a feast provided by contributions from the tenants of a manor—as *Fyldale, Fildale,* or Field-ale, was a kind of drinking anciently used in the field by bailiffs of hundreds, for which, until prohibited, they collected money from the inhabitants,§ and which seems to be the custom so often mentioned in Latin deeds, and exemplifications of manerial customs, under the name *putura,* or potura.‖ Judging from the obvious etymology of this last word, the custom, although it subsequently ex- *Commorth.* *Bydale.* *Fyldale.* *Putura.*

* Etymol. Dict. art. *Bayle Fyre.*

† Vide infra, p. 259.

‡ Stat. 4 Hen. IV, c. 27.

§ Coke, 4 Inst. 307.

‖ Spelman, Gloss. in voc. "Land subject to this custom was called *têrra putura.*"—*Coke, ut suprà.*

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tended to the taking of provision in general from tenants, would appear to be no other than the *Drinc Lean*, or wages in drink, paid to the bailiffs by the Saxon tenants, who are thence, and from *cervisia*, or the ale furnished, denominated *cervisarii* in Domesday Book.

Whitsuntide.

Drinc Lean.

Cervisarii.

Scotale. In our old forest laws, *Scotale* was the keeping of an alehouse in the forest by the forester, with the power to compel people to spend their money there for fear of his displeasure, or in order that he might wink at their offences in the forest.* But there appears to have been another kind, which was classed with the quintin, wrestling, and other rustic sports. Thus, in the inquisition of the Archdeacon of Lincoln is a query, (with a view to a prohibitory decree or ordinance), whether the people of the diocese raise quintains, make scotales, or wrestle when they go with the banner of mother church.† What is it in this scotale which offended the clergy? I take it to have been the clubbing of money for liquor, *quasi* shot-ale, from the Saxon ꝼceot, money, and ealo, ale.

Bidden Wedding. In Cumberland they have a bydale, or bridal-feast, called the *Bidden Wedding*, which, says Houseman, "was very common a few years ago, and is not yet quite obsolete. In that case, the bridegroom and a few of his friends rode about the village for several miles round, bidding or inviting their neighbours to come to the wedding on the day appointed. The wedding is likewise advertised in the country newspapers, with a general invitation, and enumerating the various rural sports to be exhibited on the occasion. This generally brings together a large concourse of people, who, after enjoying the sports of the day, make contributions to the new-married couple, which sometimes amounts to a considerable sum."‡

In Westmoreland, and probably the whole north of Eng-

* Manwood, 216. Jacob, in voc.

† "An alicubi leventur arietes, vel fiant Scotallæ, vel decertetur in præeundo cum vexillo matris ecclesiæ?"—*Inquis. Linc. an.* 1233, *cap.* 30.

‡ Descript. Cumberland, &c. p. 75-76.

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land, it was usual to invite all the country, far and near, to these *Bridewains*, or bidden weddings; and, at the appointed time, preparations were made for a general feast. Each of the company gave something to the bride, who sat with a plate upon her knee to receive the company. Stagg, the blind poet of Wigton, has described one of these scenes:—

Whitsuntide.

Bridewains.

"The breyde now on a coppy stual,
Sits down i'th' fauld a' with'rin',
With pewter dibbler on her lap,
On which her towgher's gath'rin';
The fwoak leyke pez in a keale pot,
Are yen thro' tother minglin',
An' crowns an' hauf-crowns, thick as hail,
Are i'the dibbler jinglin',
Reight fast that day."

This subscription not only served to clear the expences of the day, but produced a trifle as an outfit for the new-married pair. After the marriage ceremony, they all mounted their horses, and had a race for a ribbon and a pair of gloves. There was another and more ancient custom at marriages in Lancashire, and some parts of Cumberland:—The lord of the manor, in whose jurisdiction the marriage took place, allowed the parties a piece of ground for a house and garden. All their friends, therefore, assembled on the wedding day, and the bridegroom having provided a dinner and drink, they set to work, and constructed a dwelling for the young couple of clay and wood; many of these *clay biggins* still remain in the Fylde, in Lancashire. The relatives of the pair supplied the most necessary part of the furniture, and thus they were enabled to "start fair" in the world.

Font Hallowing, on the eves of Easter and Whitsunday, was one of the numerous ceremonies of ancient times, to which much importance was attached; and, connected as it was with baptism, it could not fail to be as interesting to the people as to the priest. The instructions of Ælfric to the Saxon clergy on this subject are very minute and par

Font Hallowing.

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Whitsuntide.

ticular. Three kinds of oil were used—holy oil, the oil of the chrism, which was probably combined with some balsam, and the oil of the sick: with the first, he directs them in baptism to mark heathen children with the sign of the cross, on the breast and between the shoulders, with the chrism. Before they baptised, they were to make the same sign on the holy font with the chrism, after which they were forbidden to sprinkle men with the font-water.* The chrism, which, with the font, was consecrated for the service of the ensuing year, was purchased by the parochial clergy from the diocesan or his suffragan, and the money so paid was called *Crismatis Denarii*, or *Chrisom Pence*. This customary payment being made, according to Cowel, in Lent, near Easter, was in some places called *Quadragesimals*, and in others *Paschals*, or *Easter-pence*. The custom, he says, was released by some of our bishops, after it had been condemned by the Pope. In the early ages of the Church, the font, of which the hole at the bottom was previously closed with a plug, was filled with consecrated water. The baptism was performed by immersing the children in the water, which was set apart for sacred purposes. At the end of the week the stopper was withdrawn, when the water descended through the pedestal into the earth. Fonts were adorned with the images of saints and holy men, and many other appropriate designs, which usually referred to the subject of human redemption, by the establishment of Christianity.† The consecration was performed with great

Crismatis Denarii.

Quadragesimals. Paschals or Easter-pence.

* Ƿan ne mot berꝑꝑenȝan men miþ þam ꝓant pætepe ꝼiðþan ꝑe cꝼiꝼma biþ þæꝑon ȝeþon.—*Bibl. Cott. MSS. Tiber. A.* III, *fo.* 103, *b.* The font seems to have been consecrated on the Saturday before Easter (see *Gloss.* art. *Les Fons Benis*), and the chrism and oil on Easter Day—at least in the tenth century, according to the Benedictional of Robert, Archbishop of Paris.—*Vide Archæol. vol.* XXIV, *p.* 29.

† "A very remarkable instance of this occurs on the font of Moulton, in Lincolnshire. It is a spherical basin, supported in the tree of life; the trunk of which, with the serpent coiled round it, forms the pedestal: on one side stands Eve, bearing in her hand the fatal apple, and on the other our general father, Adam. The bowl is ornamented with three coloured designs

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solemnity. A manuscript homily contains the following remarks on this usage:—"In the begynning of holy chirch, all the children weren kept to be chrystened on thys even at the font hallowyng; but now for enchesone that in so long abydynge they might dye without chrystendome, therefore holi chirch ordeyneth to chrysten at all tymes of the yeare; save eyght dayes before these evenys, the chylde shalle abyde till the font hallowing, if it may safely for perill of death and ells not." * *Whitsuntide.*

At Kidlington, in Oxfordshire, the *Lamb-ale* was observed on the Monday after Whitsuntide. On this occasion a fat lamb was provided, when the maidens of the town, having their thumbs tied, were permitted to run after it, and she who caught the lamb with her mouth was declared the *Lady of the Lamb*. The lamb, being killed and cleaned, was carried on a long pole before the lady and her companions to the green, attended with music, and morisco-dances of men and women. The next day it was served up for the lady's feast, which, "being finished, the solemnity ended."† *Lamb-ale.*

A superstition prevails in Ireland, that the sun dances on Easter morning in honor of the Resurrection: in England, it is supposed to dance also on Whitsunday morning, but less vigorously than at Easter. Dr. Forster quotes a singular passage from "Arise Evans's Echo to the Voice of Heaven, or a Narrative of his Life; 8vo, London, 1652:"—"He went up a hill to see the sun arise betimes on Whit- *Dancing of the Sun.*

on its outer surface—that on the east side, represents St. John baptizing our Saviour in the river Jordan; on the north-west, Philip, the deacon, performs the same ceremony for the steward of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia; and on the south-west side is the ark of Noah, and the dove with a branch of olive in her mouth, to signify that the waters, by which the world had been baptized and purified from its pollutions, were dried up from the face of the earth. Over all, a conical cover is suspended, on which is placed an angel, in the act of proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation."—*Lit. Gaz.* 1837.

* Harl. MS. 2371.

† Blount, Ancient Tenures, p. 49. Strutt, Glig Gamena, b. IV, ch. 3, s. 21.

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sunday morning;" and "saw it at its rise skip, play, dance, and turn about like a *whale*."* In Dunter's Athenian Oracle, the Doctor says: it is enquired—"Why does the sun at his rising play more on Easter Day than Whitsunday?" The answer is—"The matter of fact is an old, weak, superstitious error, and the sun neither plays nor works on Easter-day more than any other. It is true, it may sometimes happen to shine brighter that morning than any other; but, if it does, it is purely accidental. In some parts of England they call it the *Lamb-playing*, which they look for as soon as the sun rises in some clear or spring water, and is nothing but the pretty reflection it makes from the water, which they may find at any time, if the sun rises clear, and they themselves early, and unprejudiced with fancy."

Whitsuntide.

Lamb-playing.

Latter Lammas.

"At latter Lammas" is a proverbial saying among us, to express a time which will never come; the Romans had an equivalent, in their "ad Græcas Kalendas;" and the Germans borrow another from Whitsuntide, which always occurs in Summer: they promise what is not to be performed "auf Pfingsten, wenn die Gans aufm Eiss geht," (at Whitsuntide, when the goose slides on the ice.

St. Dunstan's Day.

St. Dunstan's Day falls on the 19th of May; but it is not attended by any particular ceremony or superstition. In the legend of this saint, he is said to have been a goldsmith, who, having been assailed by the devil while at work, seized the tempter by the nose with his red-hot tongues. Among the jewels enumerated in the wardrobe inventory of Edward the First was a gold ring, with a sapphire, which was believed to be of St. Dunstan's manufacture.†

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* Peren. Calend. p. 238.

† Ex Compoto Magnæ Garderobæ, an. 28 Edw. I.—"Unus Annulus Auri, cum Saphiro, qui fuit de fabrico Sancti Dunstani (ut credebatur)."—*Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, p.* *463.

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Section IV.

SUMMER.

" *Æstuat Urbanus* ——— "

St. Urban's Day.

On *St. Urban's Day*, May 25, in many parts of Germany, we are told by J. Aubanus, " all the vintners and masters of vineyards set a table, either in the market-stead, or in some other open and public place, and covering it with fine napery, and strawing upon it greene leaves and sweete flowers, and place upon the table the image of that holy bishop, and then; if the day be cleare and faire, they crowne the image with great store of wine: but if the weather prove rugged and rainie, they cast filth, mire, and puddle-water upon it; persuading themselves that, if that day be faire and calme, their grapes, which then begin to flourish, will prove good that year; but if it be stormie and tempestuous, they shall have a bad vintage."*

Trinity Sunday.

The moveable feast of *Trinity Sunday*† was formerly celebrated with processions and services, in honour of the three persons of the trinity; for, " as the other festivals commemorated the unity in trinity, so this commemorated the trinity in unity."‡ The laity had a method of honoring the trinity by a singular secular custom, which is described in Curll's Miscellanies, 8vo, 1714, in an account of Newnton, Wiltshire, where, " to perpetuate the memory of the donation of a common to that place by King Athelstan, and

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* Dr. Forster, Peren. Calend. p. 250.

† *Dies Sanctæ Trinitatis; Dominica Benedicta; Dominica Duplex; Dominica S. Trinitatis; Dominicorum Dierum Rex; Roi des Dimanches, &c.*

‡ Shepherd on the Book of Common Prayer.

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Trinity Sunday.

of a house for the hayward, *i. e.* the person who looked after the beasts that fed upon this common—' upon every Trinity Sunday, the parishioners being come to the door of the hayward's house, the door was struck thrice in honour of the Holy Trinity; they then entered. The bell was rung; after which, silence being ordered, they read their prayers aforesaid. Then was a ghirland of flowers [about the year 1660, one was killed striving to take away the ghirland], made upon an hoop, brought forth by a maid of the town upon her neck, and a young man (a bachelor), of another parish, first saluted her three times in honour of the Trinity, in respect of God the Father. Then she puts the ghirland upon his neck, and kisses him three times, in honour of the Trinity, particularly God the Son. Then he puts the ghirland on her neck again, and kisses her three times in honour of the Trinity, and particularly the Holy Ghost. Then he takes the ghirland from her neck, and, by the custom, must give her a penny at least, which, as fancy leads, is now exceeded, as 2*s.* 6*d.* &c. The method of giving this ghirland is from house to house annually, till it comes round. In the evening, every commoner sends his supper to this house, which is called the *Eale-house;* and having before laid in there equally a stock of malt, which was brewed in the house, they supped together, and what was left was given to the poor."

In the Lambeth accounts, are the churchwardens' expenses for garlands and drink for the children, for garnishing ribbons and for singing men, in the procession on Trinity Sunday even. An old homily for Trinity Sunday, quoted by Strutt, declares that the triune form was found in man: that Adam, our forefather of the earth, was the first person; that Eve, of Adam, was the second person; and that of them both was the third person; further, that at the death of a man three bells were to be rung as his knell, and two bells for a woman, as the second person of the Trinity.

A very ancient custom on this day is still preserved in Caernarvonshire; the offerings of calves and lambs which

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happen to be born with the *Nod Beuno*, or mark of St. Beuno—a certain natural mark in the ear, have not entirely ceased: they are brought to the church (but formerly to the monastery) of Clynnok Vaur on Trinity Sunday, and delivered to the churchwardens, who sell and account for them, depositing the money in a great chest, called *Cyff St. Beuno*, made of one oak, and secured with three locks. From this, the Welsh have a proverb for attempting any very difficult thing—"you may as well try to break open St. Beuno's chest." The little money resulting from the sacred beasts, or casual offerings, is applied either to the relief of the poor, or in aid of repairs.*

Trinity Sunday.

Nod Beuno

Cyff St. Beuno.

Corpus Christi Day was a grand festival held on Thursday after Trinity Sunday, in celebration of the doctrine of transubstantiation,† and it is now observed in all Roman Catholic countries with music, lights, flowers strewed in the street, rich tapestries hung upon the walls, and with other demonstrations of rejoicing. Nor is this day entirely neglected in England, for on Thursday, June 18, 1835, between 12 and 1 o'clock at noon, "the worshipful company of skinners" (with whom it is "Election Day"), attended by a number of boys, whom they have in the school of Christ's Hospital, and girls strewing flowers before them, walked in

Corpus Christi Day.

* Pennant's Tour through North Wales, vol. II, p. 210. Dugd. Monast. Anglic. tom. V, p. 631.

† A very remarkable passage appears in Cicero's treatise, *de Natura Deorum*:—Cum fruges Cererem, vinum Liberum dicimus; genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato: sed ecquem tam amentem, esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse?"—*Lib.* III, *cap.* 16. In exactly the same manner Ælfric, so often quoted, combats the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, with many other novelties, was rejected by the Anglo-Saxon church. His argument is too long for quotation, but the following is the conclusion:—The sacramental bread is transient, not eternal; corruptible, and divisible into parts; to be chewed between the teeth, and committed to digestion: after spiritual power, however, it is all in every part. Dæt hupel ip hpilenlic. na ece. bnopienlic. ⁊ bið pticc mælum to bælelð. betpux tobum to copen ⁊ into þam bnuce apenð.—*Homily on Easter Day.* In another place he says—it is less perilous to eat, than to consecrate the sacramental bread.

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Corpus Christi Day.

procession from their hall on Dowgate-hill to the church of St. Antholine, in Watling-street, to service, according to a custom which has been observed time out of mind. Popish ceremony, however, has no connexion with the custom; the election has taken place from an immemorial date, and the sermon, for which the chaplain (who is usually a member of the Company, educated at Christ's Hospital or Tunbridge) receives two guineas, has probably arisen out of a pious bequest for the purpose. The strewing of flowers is commuted to a nosegay; but it was observed on the day mentioned.

Barnaby Googe, from Naogeorgus, notices the religious plays, or, as they were more commonly termed, *Mysteries*, which were generally performed this day, in honour, and not in derision, as he absurdly says, of Christ's passion:—

> "Christ's Passion here derided is with sundrie maskes and playes."
> * * * * * * * *
> "The devil's house is drawne aboute ——"
> "And sundrie other pageants playde."

Ludus Scæ. Katherinæ

The first of these scriptural plays performed in England was *St. Catherine* (Ludus Sanctæ Katerinæ), which was written by Geoffry, master of the school in the Abbey of Dunstable, and acted by the novices in the eleventh century.* The amusement quickly became popular: W. Stephanides, or Fitzstephens, who wrote in 1174, says that London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has religious plays—either the representations of miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the sufferings of martyrs. Dugdale, in his history of Warwickshire, mentions a MS. entitled "Ludi Corporis Christi," containing, in old English "rithme," the story of the Old and New Testament. Ample information respecting this curious branch of antiquity may be obtained from Warton's History of English Poetry,† Hone on Mys-

* Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. II, p. 374.

† Vol. I, Diss. ii, p. 236 et seq.

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teries, Historical Account of the English Stage,* and the Retrospective Review.†

St. Barnabas Day.

On the feast of *St. Barnabas*, June 11, it seems to have been usual in some churches for the priests and clerks to wear garlands of flowers. Brand, who was minister of St. Mary at Hill, London, quotes the following disbursements from the accounts of the churchwardens of that parish, in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII:—

"For Rose garlondis and Woodrove garlondis on St Barnabas Day, xj^{d}
Item for two doss' [qu. backs?] di Bosce garlands, for prestes and clerks on St. Barnabe Daye, j^{s} x^{d}."

According to Gerard's Herbal, "Woodroffe, *asperula*" "is reported to be put into wine to make a man merry, and to be good for the heart and liver."

Midsummer Day.

In the middle ages, brute animals formed as prominent a part in the devotional ceremonies of the time, as they had in the old religion of Egypt. The cat, Ælurus, was embalmed after death, and buried in the city of Bubastis, because, according to Herodotus, Diana Bubastis, the chief deity of the place, was said to have transformed herself into a cat, when the Gods fled into Egypt.‡ The cat, says Mr. Mill, in his History of the Crusades, was a very important personage in the religious festivals of the times which he describes. At Aix in Provence, on the festival of Corpus Christi, the finest tom cat in the canton, wrapped like a child in swaddling-clothes, was exhibited in a magnificent shrine to public admiration. Every knee was bent—every hand strewed flowers, or poured incense; and grimalkin was treated in all respects as the god of the day. But on the festival of St. John (June 24), poor tom's fate was reversed:—A number of cats were put into a wicker basket, and thrown alive into the midst of a large fire, kindled in the public square, by the bishop and his clergy. Hymns

Animal Sacrifices.

* Prefixed to the Plays of Shakspeare, vol. III, p. 29.
† Vol. I, P. ii, p. 332, et seq.
‡ Lib. II, cap. 137.

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and anthems were sung, and processions were made by the priests and people, in honour of the sacrifice.

Rudbeck supposes that the northern nations regarded the cat, from the short period of its gestation, as a symbol of fertility, and under this notion sacrificed it to *Hertha*, the earth;* and Bishop Horseley observes that Artemis, or Diana, who was conceived to preside over generation, was worshipped under a disgraceful symbol. She was termed by the Egyptians Bubastis, which is only a corruption of Pi-Boseth, *foramen turpitudinis;* and the obscene worship paid to her perfectly corresponded with her title.† This readily accounts for the previous honours paid to the cat at Aix. But the sacrifice to the sun, in the celebration of its entrance into the summer solstice, was common to almost all nations, on the vigil and on the day of St. John the Baptist—

> " Æstus solstitium sol cancro provebit altum,
> Sollennemque diem festum Johannis agunt." ‡

The solstices were originally celebrated by the northern nations during a period of forty days. Our Saxon predecessors, long after their conversion to Christianity, preserved so many traces of the primary intention of the festival of the 24th of June, devoted by Papal care to the Baptist, that they celebrated his feast ten days, beginning five before it, and so continuing to June 29, when the Apostles Peter and Paul demanded their own peculiar services. The author

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* Atlant. t. II, p. 542. Dr. Jamieson (Suppl. art. *Cat)*, noticing the vulgar error that cats, when left alone with sleeping infants, " will suck their breath," says—" Whether the assertion be a mere fable, alluding to some ancient superstition, or has any physical foundation, I cannot pretend to determine." As to the fact, it is an evident absurdity; but a cat, which always selects the softest and warmest place in a room, might, by resting upon an infant's breast, prevent respiration, and thus be said, by those to whom the cause of death in this case is not obvious, to have sucked the child's breath.

† See his Translation of Hosea, p. 118.

‡ Joh. Garlandius, de Triumphis Eccles. lib. IV, in fine.

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of the "Menologium Poeticum," or Anglo-Saxon Poetical Kalendar, having mentioned the nativity of St John the Baptist, says—

Tyn nyhtum eac. Þiðe ir ȝepeorþðoð.
Þe þa tiid heal'bað Spa þ pel ȝe þirt.
On mi'ðne rumor. Þaliȝa ti'ð.
Myclef on æþelum Leonð hæleða bearn: *

[Ten nights also. We the festival hold. Of midsummer. Far among nations. And wide is it honoured. As it rightly becometh. The feasts of the Saints. Among the children of man.]

On reference to the Exeter Menology, it will be seen that the Saxons regarded the day itself as that of the summer solstice.†

Bone-fires.

In place of the living creatures consumed in the Pagan festival, it was generally (but, as Mr. Mills has shewn, not universally) the practice, to collect bones to be put into the fire on these occasions—whence the term *bone-fire*. Pious writers on this subject have supposed, that the huge fires made on the eve of this Saint had reference to his character in holy writ, which pronounces him to be a "shining light;" others add to this, that the fires were made to repel the dragons and evil spirits hovering in the air—and one of them, quoted by Strutt, says that in some countries they burned bones, which was called a bone-fire, for "the dragons hattyd nothyng more than the styncke of brenyng bonys."‡

The fires, and ceremonies connected with them, were not, as already remarked, restricted to the eve-day, but were continued to the nativity of the Baptist. A monk of Winchelscumbe, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, has left a manuscript, in which he describes some of the customs observed in his time. He says that the monks celebrate the nativity of St. John the Baptist with rejoicing, but not with

* Bibl. Cott. MSS. Tiberius, B. I, fo. 111, b.

† Under *June* 24. Sce. Iohannef acennef þæf fulpefef. Solftitia ðæf yf on ufe ȝeðeoðe fun ȝihte.—*Ib. Julius, A.* X, *fo.* 119, *b.*; and *Dr. Hickes, Thesaur. tom.* II, *p.* 106.

‡ Glig Gamena, b. IV, ch. 3, s. 23.

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such rejoicing as is shewn by the foolish, vain, and profane lovers of this world, who kindle in the streets large fires, which they call bone-fires, and indulge themselves in obscene and unlawful sports, gluttony, drunkenness, and indecencies. On the eve of St. John, he says, there are three kinds of sports; the boys, in some places, collect bones and all sorts of impurities and make a fire, the dense smoke of which darkens the sky. They also run about the fields with lighted firebrands and torches. The third sport is the rolling of a flaming wheel; and, in conclusion, he rightly deduces the custom of burning bones from the heathens.* According to Durandus, a large wheel, bound with straw and set on fire, was rolled down a hill on this day—evidently intended to signify, that the sun was beginning to roll down again from its greatest altitude. Thomas Naogeorgus, author of the "Regnum Papisticum," referring to it, adds, that the people used to imagine that they could roll down, and get rid of their ill luck with this wheel. His description of the various ceremonies practised on this occasion is contained in the following verses, from the translation by Barnaby Googe, in 1570:—

Fire Wheels.

"Then doth the joyfull feast of John the Baptist take his turne,
When bonfiers great, with loftie flame, in every towne doe burne;
And yong men round about with maides doe daunce in every streete,
With garlands wrought of mother-wort, or else with vervaine sweete
And many other flowres faire, with violets in their handes,
Whereas they all do fondly thinke, that whosoever stands,
And throw the flowres beholds the flame, his eye shall feele no paine.
When thus till nighte they daunced have, they through the fire amaine

* Dico ejus Nativitatem cum gaudio, non illo tamen gaudio quo stulti, vani, et profani amatores mundi hujus, accensis ignibus per plateas (Anglicè *bone-fires*) turpibus et illicitis ludis, commessationibus et ebrietatibus, cubilibus et impudicitiis intendentes, eam celebrare solent. Dicamus de tripudiis in vigilia Sancti Johannis fieri solent; quorum tria genera. In vigilia enim beati Johannis colligunt pueri in quibusdam regionibus, ossa et quædam alia immunda et simul cremant, ex inde producitur fumus in aëre. Cremant etiam brandas (seu fasces), et circumeunt arva cum brandis. Tertium de rota quam faciunt volvi. Quod cum immunda cremant hoc habent ex gentilibus."—*Harl. MS.* 2345, *fo.* 49, *b.*

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With striving mindes doe run, and all theire hearbes they cast therin,
And then with wordes devout and prayer, they solemnly begin,
Desiring God that all their illes may there confounded bee,
Whereby they thinke through all that yeare from Agues to be free.
Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside,
Which covered round about with strawe and tow, they closely hide;
And caryed to some mountaine's top, being all with fire alight,
They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appeares the night:
Resembling much the sunne, that from the heavens down should fal,
A strange and monstrous sight it seemes, and fearfull to them all.
But they suppose their mischiefes all are likewise throwne to hell,
And that from harmes and daungers now in safetie here they dwell." *

The heathen rites of this festival at the summer solstice, may be considered as a counterpart of those of the winter solstice at Yuletide. In the old Runic fasti, a wheel was used to denote the festival of Christmas; and Gebelin, in his "Origines Orientales," derives Yule from a primitive word, carrying with it the general idea of revolution and a wheel; and it was so called, says Beda, because of the sun's annual course after the winter solstice.† This wheel is common to both festivities. The Saxon idol of the sun was represented like a man half naked, with his face like the sun, holding a burning wheel with both hands on his breast, signifying his course round the world; and, by its fiery gleams, the light and heat with which he warms and nourishes all things.‡ The ancient Germans distinctly called the fires of St. John the solstice-fires:—"And it happened," says the Chronicle of the Counts of Cilly, "on a St. John's eve at the solstice, and they made a huge fire, or solstice-fire, in the city:"§ the people also were accustomed to leap through these fires, "weil auch die Sonne sprung thut," in imitation of the sun's leap.

* The Popish Kingdome, b. IV.

† Vide suprà, p. 92, note ult.

‡ Gent. Mag. Nov. 1748.

§ "Und das beschah ann einem S. Johannis Abendt zu Sunwenden, und machten-da in der Stadt ein gross Fever, oder Svnwent Fever."—*Hahnii Monum. tom.* II, *p.* 693. Du Cange and Dr. Jamieson consider these fires of St. John and the *Nodfyr* of the ancient Germans to be the same; but Haltaus says that they are very different.—*Cal. Medii Ævi, p.* 108-9, *n.*

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Midsummer Day. Bael Fire.

Dr. Jamieson is of opinion that the Bael-fire, by the conversion of *l* into *n*, is the origin of the term bon-fire, the Bael-fire being one in which dead bodies were burned; and such was the Bæl-ƿiɲ of our Saxon predecessors.* Nor is this opinion remote from probability, though Skinner, and after him Dr. Johnson, very injudiciously derive bon-fire from the French—*bon*, good, because these fires were usually made upon the receipt of some good news, or upon occasion of public rejoicing; in which derivation Strutt, although he had quoted an original manuscript of great antiquity, in which bones are particularly named among the combustibles, "perfectly agrees with Dr. Johnson."† The French call such fires *feux de joie*, and, if we had borrowed from them, we should most likely have taken this term; the Bael Fires they name *Feux de St. Jean* (St. John's Fires.) We have already seen from the monk of Winchelscumbe, that the boys of the fifteenth century collected bones and other refuse for the composition of these fires; and the writer of a homily on the Eve of St. John, describing the several sorts of bonfires, with the supposed object of lighting each, bears the following decisive testimony:—

Feux de St. Jean.

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* Bælƿýɲ.—*Cædmon*, 61, 13. Dr. Hickes, in his Dictionary of the Icelandic, derives *bæl-fire* from *Baal*, and observes that, by a mutation of letters of the same organ, *bæl-fyr* becomes *bæn-fýr*, whence our *bone-fire*:—"Bæl-ƿýɲ, per mutationem literarum ejusdem organi, bæn-ƿýɲ, unde est nostrum *bone-fire*."—*Thesaur, tom.* III, *p.* 74. The ceremony preceding the cremation of a corpse, among the Æsti, has already been mentioned, from Wulfstan's Voyage up the Baltic, from which we learn that the latter ceremony was performed with such scrupulous exactness, that if a single bone were left unconsumed, they (perhaps the kinsmen) were severely fined—an'ð ȝiƿ ðaɲ man an ban ƿiɲðeð unƿoɲbæɲneᵹ. hi ƿceolan miclum ȝebetan. —*Bibl. Cott. Tib. B.* I, *fol.* 13. Barrington, mistaking ȝebetan, and printing ȝebætan, translates—"it was a cause of anger." It is not improbable that the burning of dead bodies prevailed among the earlier Saxons in this country.

† Glig Gamena, b. IV, ch. iii, sect. 32. It may be noticed, among unsupported etymologies, resting solely on affinities of sound, that Dr. Owen Pughe translates the British *Bâl dân*, or *Tân bàl* (the name given by the Welsh to the fire of St. John), "the fire of rejoicing."

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"In worshipp of Saint Johann, the people wake at home, and make three maner of fyres: oone is *clene bones* and *noo woode*, and that is called a *bone-fyre;* another is *clene woode*, and no bones, and that is called a *woode fyre*, for people to sit and wake thereby; the thirde is made of *wode and bones*, and it is called *Saynt Johannys fyre*. The first fyre, as a great clerke Johan Belleth telleth he was in a certayne country, so in the countrey there was soo great hete, the which causid the dragons to go togyther in tokennynge, that Johan dyed in brennynge love and charyte to God and Man, and they that dye in charyte shall have part of all good prayers, and they that do not shall never be saved. Then as these dragons flewe in the ayre, they shed down to the water froth of ther kynde, and so envennymed the waters, and caused moche people for to take theyr dethe therby, and many dyverse sykenesse. Wyse clerkes knoweth well that dragons hate nothyng more than the stench of brennynge bones, and therefore they gaderyd as many as they mighte fynde, and brent them; and so with the stenche thereof they drove away the dragons, and so they were brought out of greete dysease.

Midsummer Day.

St. John's Fire.

"The second fyre was made of woode, for that wyll brenne lyght, and wyll be seen farre. For it is the chefe of fyre to be seene farre, and betokennynge that Saynt Johan was a lanterne of lyght to the people. Also the people made blases of fyre for that they shulde be seene farre, and specyally in the nyght, in token of St. Johan's having been seen from far in the spirit by Jeremiah.

"The third fyre of bones betokenneth Johan's martyrdome, for his bones were brent."

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, these fires were patronized by the court, and numerous entries appear in the "Privy-purse Expenses" of that monarch, by which he either defrayed the charges, or rewarded the firemen. A few are subjoined, as examples of the whole:

Royal Bonfires.

"June 23 (1493), To making of the bonefuyr on Midsomer Eve, 10^{d}."

"June 28 (1495), For making the *king's bonefuyr*, 10^{d}."

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"June 24 (1497), Midsomer day, For making of the bone-fuyr, 10s."
"June 30 (1498), The making of the bone-fuyr, £2." *

Midsummer Day.

The last fire may have been larger than usual, in consequence of the termination of Perkin Warbeck's insurrection. By a disbursement at p. 132, it appears that the pages of the hall made the bonfire on one, if not on all occasions. This monarch, in the twenty-third year of his reign, directed a letter to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, to make rejoycings by "fyres in the city, on the conclusion of a marriage between his daughter, Lady Mary, and the Prince of Castile.† It is observable that he does not call them bon-fires, that name being, in fact, applied to fires for good news, after the real meaning of bone-fire had been lost or neglected. Thus Spencer:

"Ring ye the bells to make it wear away,
And bonfires make all day."

It has already been mentioned, that this form of worshipping the Druidical deity Belus, the sun, is retained in Cornwall on St. John's day, which in Scotland, under the name of Beltein, is observed on the first of May. In Ireland, fires were lighted in honour of the sun, and the people danced round them, on June 21, 1782.‡ A gentleman, who describes the Cornish custom, is mistaken in supposing it to be peculiar to that part of the kingdom; but his remarks on the subject are valuable and interesting:—"An immemorial and peculiar custom (he says) prevails on the seacoast of the western extremity of Cornwall, of kindling large bonfires on the evening of June 24; and on the next day the country people, assembling in great crowds, amuse themselves with excursions on the water. I cannot help thinking it the remains of an ancient Druidical festival, celebrated on Midsummer Day, to implore the friendly influence of Heaven on their fields, compounded with that of

Fires of Bel, or Belus.

* Excerpta Historica, p. 94, 103, 112, 118.
† Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, p. 821.
‡ Gent. Mag. vol. LXI, p. 124.

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Midsummer Day.

the first of May, when the Druids kindled large fires on all their sacred places, and on the tops of all their cairns, in honour of Bel, or Belinus, the name by which they distinguished the sun, whose revolving course had again clothed the earth with beauty, and diffused joy and gladness through the creation. Their water-parties on the 24th, prove that they consider the summer season as now so fully established, that they are not afraid to commit themselves to the mercy of the waves.

"If we reflect on the rooted animosity which subsisted between the Romans and the Druids, and that the latter, on being expelled from their former residences, found, together with the miserable remnant of the Britons, an asylum in the naturally-fortified parts of this island, we shall not be surprised at their customs having been faintly handed down through such a long succession of ages. That Cornwall was one of their retreats, is sufficiently proved by the numerous remains of their circular temples, cromlechs, cairns, &c. Even in the eleventh century, when Christianity was become the national religion, the people were so attached to their ancient superstitions, that we find a law of Canute the Great, strictly prohibiting all his subjects from paying adoration to the sun, moon, sacred groves and woods, hallowed hills and fountains. If, then, this propensity to idolatry could not be rooted out of those parts of the kingdom exposed to the continual influx of foreigners, and the horrors of frequent war, how much more must it have flourished in Cornwall, and those parts where the Druids long preserved their authority and influence. It may, therefore, be clearly inferred that, from their remote situation, and comparative insignificance with the rest of England, they preserved those religious solemnities unmolested; and, corrupted as they must naturally be by long usage and tradition, yet they are handed down to us to this day with evident marks of a Druidical origin."*

* Gent. Mag. vol. LXI, p. 294.

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The erections and assemblages of huge stones mentioned in these remarks, which we agree to call Druidical for want of a better name, and of which Stonehenge is the most remarkable, were all sacred to the sun. They are found in all parts of the world: in the Heliacal Table, the clubs of Hercules supporting the garland of Bacchus, under the radiated bust of Apollo, are based upon the cairns, or heaps of stone sacred to Hermes; and the columns of Hercules, on each side of the Straits of Gibraltar, seem to have been sacred stones of a similar nature. A Druidical monument, yet existing in Ireland, is denominated *Carig Croith*, or the solar rock.†

Carig Croith.

"I question," says the learned Bryant, "whether there be in the world a monument which is much prior to the celebrated Stonehenge. There is reason to think that it was erected by a foreign colony—one of the first which came into the island. The ancients distinguished stones erected with a religious view by the name of *Amber*, by which was signified any thing solar or divine. The Greeks called them *Petræ Ambrosiæ*, and there are representations of such upon coins. Horapollo speaks of a sacred book in Egypt styled *Ambres*,† which was so called from its sanctity; being a medicinal book of Hermes, and entrusted solely to the care of the sacred scribes. Stonehenge is composed of these amber stones; hence the next town is denominated *Ambrosbury*—not from a Roman Ambrosius, for no such person existed, but from the *Ambrosiæ Petræ*, in whose vicinity it stands. Some of these, as I have taken notice, were rocking stones; and there is a wonderful monument of this sort near Penzance, in Cornwall, though I believe it is now in a great measure ruined. It still retains the name of *Main Amber*, by which is signified the sacred stone."

Petræ Ambrosiæ.

* Borlase, Antiq. Cornwall, p. 224.

† Faber derives *Amber* from *Am-p'ur*, the burning sun, and observes that it is the very same title as Pyramid, which is equally a stone sacred to the sun; they differ only in the component radicals being inverted; *P'ur-am.*—*Dissert. vol.* II, *p.* 171.

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Midsummer Day.

Such a one is mentioned by Appollonius Rhodius, which was supposed to have been raised in the time of the Argonautæ. It stood in the Island Tenos, and was the monument of Calaïs and Zetes, the two winged sons of Boreas. They are said to have been slain by Hercules; and though the story be a fable, yet such a monument I make no doubt existed in that island, as the poet describes:

——— Ετυγερη τισις επλετ' οπισσω
Χερσιν ὑφ' Ἡρακληος.

These hapless heroes as they bent their way
From the sad rites of Pelias lately dead
Alcides slew in Tenos. He then rais'd
An ample mound in memory of the slain,
And on it plac'd two stones. One still remains
Firm on its base: the other, lightly pois'd,
Is view'd by many a wondering eye, and moves
At the slight impulse of the northern blast." *

Sacrifices of Animals.

The tower of Babel—the pagodas of Hindostan—the round towers of Ireland—the Mithratic grottoes, are all, equally with our Druidical remains, monuments of the first and universally-spread form of idolatry—the worship of the sun, in whose honour human victims were sometimes immolated.† A remarkable vestige of animal sacrifice in the rites of Bel, or Baal, and Pales (for that they are identical can be little doubted), was witnessed so lately as the commencement of the present century. It is related in Hitchin's History of Cornwall, and, with the exception of the description of the animal's tortures, is as follows:—"An ignorant old farmer in Cornwall, having met with some severe losses in his cattle about the year 1800, was much afflicted with his mis-

* Anal. Mythol. vol. III, p. 533.

† With respect to Druidical remains in Ireland, Robert of Brunne notices a tradition that they were imported by giants, by whom are meant a race of men existing soon after the deluge, and whose obscurity has magnified their stature:

"In Afrik were they compast and wrought,
Geantz tille Irelond from thither tham brought."
Chron. p. 191.

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fortunes. To stop the growing evil, he applied to the farriers in his neighbourhood, but unfortunately applied in vain. The malady still continuing, he thought it necessary to have recourse to some extraordinary measure. Accordingly, on consulting with some of his neighbours, equally ignorant with himself, and evidently not less barbarous, they recalled to their recollection a tale, which tradition had handed down from remote antiquity, that the calamity would not cease until he had actually burned alive the finest calf which he had upon his farm; but that, when this sacrifice was made, the murrain would afflict his cattle no more. He accordingly called several of his friends together on an appointed day, and, having lighted a large fire, brought forth his best calf, and without ceremony or remorse pushed it into the flames." * * * * "It is scarcely possible," continues Mr. Hitchin, "to reflect on this instance of superstition, without tracing a kind of resemblance between it and the ancient sacrifices of the Druids. This calf was sacrificed to Fortune, or good luck, to avert impending calamity, and to ensure future prosperity, and was selected by the farmer as the finest among his herd."

Fordicidia

In the *Fordicidia* of the Romans, a cow was sacrificed to the earth; but in the *Palilia*, the chief vestal burned a calf taken from the womb of a pregnant cow, and, mixing it with the blood of a horse, and the ashes of beanstalks, made a sort of perfume, with which the courts and people were purified, to obtain the favour of the rural deity.*

Nod Feuer.

The peasants in many places of Germany, at the feast of St. John, bind a rope round a stick drawn from a hedge, and drive it hither and thither till it catches fire. This they carefully feed with stubble and dry wood, heaped together, and they spread the collected ashes over their potherbs,

* "Etenim vestalis maxima vitulum, fordæ bovis immolatæ utero exemptum, comburabat, et ex illius cinere, equi sanguine et adustis fabarum stipulis suffimen faciebant, quo populum et curias purgabant."—*Sibrand. Siccama in Fast. Kal. Rom. c.* x. *(Grævii Thes. Antiq. tom.* VIII, *p.* 67.)

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confident that by this means, they can drive away canker-worms. They call this *Ned Feur (Noth Feuer.)* In a council held in the time of Charlemagne, 742, it was ordered that every bishop should take care that the people of God did not observe Pagan rites, or make those sacrilegious fires which are called *Nedfri.** It is to be remarked, that the Druidical fire on Hallowe'en was obtained in a similar manner, and was called *Tin Egin*, or forced fire, which is precisely the meaning of the German term.

Midsummer Day.

Tin Egin.

The author of "Horæ Monumenta Cravenæ" has observed relics of the Beltein in the names of Yorkshire hills; and a faint existence of the midsummer fires was to be observed in the processions of guilds in that county, in honour of the Baptist's nativity. They were composed of persons of both sexes, who were not bound by statutes of celibacy. They formed chantries, &c. and used to make solemn processions through the town on St. John's day, with the portable shrine of St. John, and torches lighted, bearing the host in a tabernacle, with banners and colours flying.†

In the Scottish Beltein on the first of May, the devoted person leaps through the fire three times, as mentioned by Dr. Robertson; and, according to Naogeorgus, the dance of St. John was concluded by passing through the flames. A similar ceremony is ascribed to the Hirpini, or priests of Apollo, who, in their worship of the sun, lighted huge piles of pine upon Mount Soracte, and were accustomed to walk through with naked feet:—

> "Summe Deûm, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
> Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
> Pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
> Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna."‡

Mr. Ashton Lees, who has collected a great number of important facts relating to the Toot Hills, or hills dedicated

* Capit. lib. V, cap. 2. Vide plura apud Du Cange, Gloss. tom. IV, c. 1168.

† Clarkson's Hist. Richmond, p. 225.

‡ Æn. lib. XI, v. 785.

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BOOK II.

Midsummer Day.

Toot Hills.

to the Celtic deity Toot, Tot, Thoth, or Teat, the Teutates of Lucan, and found in every county in England that has an irregular surface, quotes Dryden's translation of these lines, apparently to shew the existence of a carn on Mount Soracte :—

> "O, Patron of Soracte's high abodes,
> Phœbus, the ruling pow'r among the Gods!
> Whom first we serve, whole woods of unctuous pine
> *Burn on thy heap*, and to thy glory shine:
> By thee protected, with our naked soles,
> Through flames unsing'd we pass, and tread the kindled coals."

The selection of hills for the worship of Pagan deities seems to have been common to all countries. Libanius says that, on the apostacy of Julian, "the sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votaries."*

Connected with, and in all probability resulting from, the fires on St. John's eve, is a remarkable and extraordinary phenomenon, which was twice witnessed on the mountain called Soutra Fell, or Southerfell, in Westmoreland. Many of the prodigies related by our ancient historians, whose credulity led them to look upon all strange effects, of which they could not perceive the cause, as miraculous portents, may, like the apparitions on Soutra Fell, admit of natural explanations. Mr. Clarke relates the following attested story, in the words of Mr. Lancaster, of Blakehills :—

"On the 23d of June, 1744, his father's servant (Daniel Strickett, who now lives under Skiddaw, and is an auctioneer), about half-past seven in the evening, was walking a little above the house. Looking round him, he saw a troop of men on horseback riding on Southerfell-side (a place so steep, that a horse can scarcely travel on it at all) in pretty close ranks and at a brisk walk. Stricket looked earnestly at them some time, before he durst venture to ac-

* Gibbon, vol. IV, ch. 23, p. 87 (n. 86.) Vide Deut. XII, 2, 3.

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quaint any one with what he saw, as he had the year before made himself ridiculous by a visionary story, which I beg leave here to relate.

"He was at that time servant to John Wren, of Walton-hill, the next house to Blakehills, and sitting one evening after supper at the door, along with his master, they saw a man with a dog pursuing some horses along Southerfell side; and they seemed to run at an amazing pace, till they got out of sight at the lower end of the Fell. This made them resolve to go next morning to the place, to pick up the shoes which they thought these horses must have lost in galloping at such a furious rate; they expected likewise to see prodigious grazes from the feet of these horses on the steep side of the mountain, and to find the man lying dead, as they thought he ran so fast that he must kill himself. Accordingly they went, but to their great surprise found not a shoe, nor even a single vestige of any horse having been there, much less did they find the man lying dead, as they expected. This story they some time concealed—at length, however, they ventured to tell it, and were (as might be expected) heartily laughed at.

"Stricket, conscious of his former ridiculous error, observed these aërial troops some time, before he ventured to mention what he saw; at length, fully satisfied that what he saw was real, he went into the house, and told Mr. Lancaster he had something curious to shew him. Mr. Lancaster asked what it was—adding, 'I suppose some bonefire' (for it was then, and still is the custom for the shepherds, on the evening before St. John's day, to light bonefires, and vie with each other in having the largest.) Stricket told him, if he would walk with him to the end of the house he would shew him what it was. They then went together, and before Stricket spoke, or pointed to the place, Mr. Lancaster himself discovered the phenomenon, and said to Stricket,—'Is that what thou hast to shew me?' 'Yes, master,' replied Stricket; 'do you think you see as I do?'

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They found they did see alike, so they went and alarmed the family, who all came, and all saw this strange phenomenon.

"These visionary horsemen seemed to come from the lowest part of Southerfell, and became visible first at a place called Knot; they then moved in regular troops along the side of the Fell, till they came opposite Blakehills, when they went over the mountain: thus they described a kind of curvilinear path upon the side of the Fell, and both their first and last appearance were bounded by the top of the mountain.

"Frequently the last or last but one in a troop (always either one or the other) would leave his place, gallop to the front, and then take the same pace with the rest, a *regular swift walk*; these changes happened to every troop (for many troops appeared), and oftener than once or twice, yet not at all times alike. The spectators saw, *all alike*, the same changes, and at the same time, as they discovered by asking each other questions as any change took place. Nor was this wonderful phenomenon seen at Blakehills only—it was seen by *every* person, at *every cottage*, within the distance of a mile; neither was it confined to a momentary view, for, from the time that Stricket first observed it, the appearance must have lasted at least two hours and a half, viz. from half-past seven, till the night coming on prevented the farther view; nor yet was the distance such as could impose rude resemblance on the eyes of credulity—Blakehills lay not half a mile from the place where this astonishing appearance *seemed* to be, and many other places where it was likewise seen are still nearer.

"Desirous of giving my readers every possible satisfaction, I procured the following attestation, signed by Mr. Lancaster and Stricket:

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, declare the above account to be true, and that we saw

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the phenomena as here related. As witness our hands, this 21st day of July, 1785,

WILLIAM LANCASTER,
DANIEL STRICKET.*

Much, no doubt, must be allowed to the imagination, in this description of the shadows of smoke against the hill-side, or of volumes of smoke itself; but its general accuracy may be admitted:—

> "Look how the world's poor people are amazed
> At apparitions, signs and prodigies,
> Whereon with fearful eyes they long have gazed,
> Infusing them with dreadful prophecies."†

Mr. Clarke, in other respects an intelligent observer, asks with much simplicity—"Can something of this nature have given rise to Ossian's grand and awful mythology? or, finally, is there any impiety in supposing, as this happened immediately before that rebellion which was intended to subvert the liberty, the law, and the religion of England, that though immediate prophecies have ceased, these visionary beings might be directed to warn mankind of approaching tumults? In short, it is difficult to say what it was, or what it is not."

The rebellion of the Percies, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, was supposed to be presaged by an aërial conflict, which, according to Walsingham, was observed in the summer-time between Bedford and Bickleswade.—"Sundry monsters of divers colours, in the shapes of armed men, were often seene to issue out of the woods at morning and at noone; which, to such as stood farre off, seemed to encounter one another in most terrible manner, but when they drew neere, nothing was to bee found."‡

Mr. Clarke's story admits of a natural explanation, connected with a Gothic superstition; but Walsingham's nar-

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* Survey of the Lakes.

† Shakspeare, Venus and Adonis.

‡ Ypodigm. Neustriæ, apud Speed, Hist. p. 754, n. 31.

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BOOK II.

Midsummer Day.

Saxon Traditions of the Wild Huntsman.

rative is entirely founded on the traditions prevalent among Gothic nations, of the terrific spirit, who, with his swarthy train, sometimes of warriors, sometimes of huntsmen, rides in the troubled air, scattering all imaginable evils among the sons of men. "The peasants of Scandinavia," observes a writer learned in these unholy subjects, "still tremble when the murky air resounds with the baying of the hounds, and when the steeds, holding their course between earth and heaven, are heard to rush among the clouds, announcing the approach of the *Wild Huntsman*."* This terrific personage was seen in England in 1126, when the abbey of Medeshamstede, afterwards St. Peterborough, was wickedly transferred to the rapacious Henry of Angeli, or d'Anjou, of whom the Saxon chronicler saith, that "all that he might take within and without, of learned and lewd, that he sent over the sea; and no good did there—no good left there." At this proceeding the Wild Huntsman evinced his displeasure; and it is singular that the critic, before cited, should not have noticed the authentic account of his proceedings. "Think no man unworthily," says the historian, "that we say not the truth; for it was fully known all over the land, that as soon as Angeli came thither, which was on the Sunday when we sing *Exurge, O Domine* (O Lord arise), several persons saw and heard many huntsmen hunting. The huntsmen were swart, and huge, and ugly; and their hounds were all swarthy, and broad-eyed ("saucer-eyed"), and ugly. And they rode on swarthy horses, and swarthy bucks. This was seen in the very deer-fold in the town of Peterborough, and in all the woods from that same town to Stamford. And the monks heard the horn blow that they

* Quarterly Review, vol. XXII, p. 369. The Jupiter Tonans had a compeer in the British *Tanar*, the Thunderer; and, says Dr. Robertson, "the people of Brazil were so much affrighted by thunder, which is frequent and awful in their country, as well as in other parts of the Torrid Zone; and it was not only the object of religious reverence, but the most expressive name in their language for the Deity was Toupan, and the same by which they distinguished thunder.—*Hist. Amer. vol.* II, *n.* [35], *p.* 63.

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blew in the night. Credible men, who watched them m the night, said they thought there might be twenty or thirty horn-blowers. This was seen and heard from the time that he came thither, all the Lent-tide onward to Easter. This was his coming in; of his going out we can as yet say nought—God provide."*

We have, however, much earlier mention of the Wild Huntsman among our predecessors. The Archbishop Ælfric, in his homily "In Caput Ieiunii," or Ash-Wednesday, relates a story of him and the hell-hound, which I translate almost literally, as follows:—

An unadvised man was at the court of Ælfstan, bishop of Wiltshire. The man would not go to the ashes† on Wednesday as other men did, who sought the mass there. Then his companions begged that he would go to the mass-priest, and receive the mysteries which they received. He said—I will not. They still begged him; but he said that he would not, and scolded with words, and said that he would enjoy the company of his wife at the prohibited times. They left him in this humour; and it happened that the Devil was riding that week on some errand—then the hounds very fiercely attacked him, and pursued him until his spear stood before him, and his horse bore him forth, so that the spear was run through him, and he fell dying. He was then buried, and they laid upon him many burthens, within a week that he forsook those few ashes.‡

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* Chron. Saxon. ad an. 1126.

† See Gloss. Dates, art. *Ash Wednesday, Cineres, Dies Cinerum.*

‡ In the catalogue of Cotton MSS. the codex is styled *Liber Festivalis.* Its place is Julius, E, VII. As the homily has never been published, this portion of it is inserted as a specimen of Ælfric's manner of telling a story: —Sum unzeþaþ mann þær miþ ælfstane bisceope on piltun scine on hiwebe. se man nolde gan to ðam axum on þone poðnes dæz. spa spa oðre men ðyðon þe þa mæssan zesohton. Ða bæðon hiz zesecan þ he eode to þam mæsse pneorte. ⁊ unðeþsencze þa zesynu þe hi unðeþsenzon. He cpæð ic nelle. Hi bæðon þa zit. he cpæð þ he nolde. ⁊ pealode miþ popðum. ⁊ sæde þ he polde hiz pisef bpucan on þam unalyfedum timan. Hi leton þa spa. ⁊ hit zelamp þ se zeðpola.

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Wild Army.

The Wild Huntsman is Woden or Odin, whose name is found in a root in the Anglo-Saxon ꝑoꝺ, the wild or furious. The etymology alone is sufficient to indicate the connexion between the *Wütend Heer* or wild army, as the Wild Huntsman and his train are popularly called in Germany. His residence in this country seems not to have been previously observed. Woden is known in Brunswick, says the Quarterly Reviewer, as the Hunter of Hackelberg, a sinful knight, who renounced Heaven to be allowed to hunt until the day of doom. His sepulchre, in a forest near Usslar, is a vast unhewn stone, an ancient monument of the class which we call Druidical, for want of a better name. This circumstance is of importance, in confirming the connexion between the popular mythology and the antient religion of the country. All is now quiet about the grave of Hackelberg; but the restless spirit retains his power at this very moment in the neighbourhood of the Oden Wald, or forest of Odin, and, amidst the ruins of Rodenstein Castle, his appearance still prognosticates impending war. At midnight he issues from the tower, surrounded by his host; the trumpets sound, the war-wains rumble, and even the words of command are heard, which are given to the ghostly soldiers by their leader. When peace is about to be proclaimed, Roden-

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ꝑaꝺ on ðæꝑe ꝑucan ẏmbe ꝑum æꝑenꝺe. þa ȝeꝑtoꝺon hine hunꝺaꝑ hetelice ꝑpẏðe. ⁊ he hine peꝑoꝺe oþ þ hiꝑ ꝑceaꝑt ætꝑtoꝺ ætꝑopan him, ⁊ hiꝑ hoꝑꝑ hine bæꝑ ꝑoꝑð. ꝑpa þ þ ꝑpeꝑe him eoꝺe þuꝑhut. ⁊ he ꝑeoll cpelenꝺe. He peaꝑð ða beẏꝑȝeꝺ. ⁊ him læȝon uppan ꝑela bẏꝑꝺena eoꝑðan binnon ꝑeoꝑon nihton. þæꝑ ðe he ꝑoꝑꝑoc þa ꝑeapa axan.—*Fo.* 62, *b.*

The Devil, it will be seen, is called ꝑe ȝeꝺꝺpola, a sense in which that word is not explained by Somner or Lye. The *Liber Festivalis* contains many others which are not to be found in the Lexicons. I have extracted from the different MSS. in this collection several hundred words, which Mr. L. does not notice, and which it is not improbable I shall submit to the public, with a Latin and English translation. The Spanish "great black mastives" (*see* the "Hell Hounds" in Thom's *Lays and Legends of Spain, p.* 63-4), the Manks *Mauthe Doog*, the Irish *Duvra*, the *Cwn-wybir* (sky-dogs), and *Cwn annwn* (dogs of hell)—*Blackwood's Mag. vol.* III, *p.* 192); and the Saxon *Swarth-hounds*, are clearly all of the same breed.

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stein* and his soldiery return to the ruins, but with quiet and gentle steps, and borne along with harmony. Rodenstein will come when he is called:—About four or five years ago a Jäger, in the employ of a neighbouring forester (who, when in England, stated the fact to us), passed by the tower at midnight. Being somewhat the better for his potations, he called to the spirit—"Rodenstein, ziehe heraus!" and instantly the army rushed forth with such violence, that the presumptuous horseman was nearly frightened out of his senses."

"Das ist des wilden Heeres Jagd
Die bis zum jüngsten Tage währt,
Und oft dem Wüstling noch bey Nacht
Zu Schreck und Graus vorüberfährt.
Das Könnte, müsst' er sonst nicht schweigen,
Wohl *manches Jägers Mund bezeugen.*"†

In Walsingham's time the Wild Huntsman had become obscure, but it seems that he now and then haunts the peasants of Southra Fells, while, farther north, the fires of Odin still gleam on the rocks of the Orkneys.‡

Attached to Midsummer Day and Eve are many absurd superstitions, of which only a few of the most remarkable need be noticed. For instance, according to Grose, it is imagined that any unmarried woman fasting, and at midnight laying a clean cloth, with bread, cheese, and ale, and sitting as if about to eat, the door being left open, will see the person whom she is afterwards to marry come into

* The infernal army is also named *Grodens Heer*, a corruption of Odens Heer, as Rodenstein is apparently of *Odens stein*, the stone of Odin. The Reviewer probably thought this too obvious to require notice.

† Bürger, der wilde Jäger, Gedichte, th. II, s. 157. Carlsruhe, 1789.

‡ "In Evie parish, near the sea, are some rocks, which frequently in the night appear on fire; and the church of St. Michael there is often seen full of lights, called fires sent by Odin to guard the tombs."—*North. Antiq.* I, 345, *apud Gough, Edit. Camden Britan. vol.* IV, *p.* 540. Gough properly supposes these lights to be meteors, or some inflammable matter on the cliffs, as at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, where, during the hot weather in August 1767, the cliffs appeared on fire.—*Vol.* I, *p.* 65.

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the room, and drink to her by bowing; and afterwards filling the glass, he will leave it on the table, and, making another bow, will retire.

Amatory Divinations.

Aubrey in the reign of Charles the Second, relates that, "the last summer, on the day of St. John the Baptist (1684), I was accidentally walking in the pasture behind Montague House; it was 12 o'clock. I saw there about two or three and twenty young women; most of them were habited on their knees very busy, as if they had been weeding; I could not presently learn what the matter was. At last, a young man told me they were looking for a coal under the root of a plantain, to put under their heads that night, and they should dream who would be their husbands; it was to be found that day and hour."

We have already seen that the mother-wort was used in the garlands of St. John's Day in England: according to a custom common over Germany, every young girl plucks a sprig of the same plant (the hypericum, there called *Johannis Kraut**—St. John's wort), and places it in the wall of her chamber. Should it, owing to the dampness of the wall, retain its freshness and verdure, she may reckon upon gaining a suitor in the course of the year; but should it droop, the popular belief is, that she is also destined to pine and wither away. In Scotland, the superstitious carry this plant about them, as a charm against the dire effects of witchcraft and enchantment. They also fancy they cure their ropy milk, which they suppose to be under malignant influence, by putting St. John's wort into it, and milking afresh upon it.†

For centuries, the maidens on the banks of the Guadalquiver, in Spain, have gone forth on the morning of the Baptist's day to gather flowers, which they bind in a gar-

* Dr. Forster names it "Johannis Würmgen," or "Würmlein," either of which is the glow-worm—perhaps receiving its appellation from the scriptural character of St. John, "a shining light."

† Lightfoot, Flora Scotl. p. 417. Jamieson.

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land on a "snow-white wether." The object of this custom is an amatory divination, expressed as follows in the literal version of a ballad, which is said to be sung on this interesting occasion:

"Come forth, come forth, my maidens, we'll gather myrtle boughs,
And we all shall learn from the dews of the fern, if our lads will keep their vows:
If the wether be still, as we dance on the hill, and the dew hangs sweet on the flowers,
Then we'll kiss off the dew, for our lovers are true, and the Baptist's blessing is ours." *

On this night, young women, sighing for husbands, run three times round the church, sowing hemp-seeds as they run, and singing—

"Hemp-seed I sow,—let hemp-seed grow;
He that will my sweetheart be, come after me and mow:"

when it was pretended, says Strutt, that the shadow or appearance of the man for them destined would, of a certainty, follow with a scythe, as if he were mowing.† Hence Gay, who has noticed many rustic customs, says—

"At eve last Midsummer no sleep I sought,
But to the field a bag of hemp-seed brought;
I scattered round the seed on every side,
And three times in a trembling accent cried—
'This hemp-seed with my virgin hand I sow,
Who shall my true love be, the crop shall mow.'
I straight look'd back, and, if my eyes speak truth,
With his keen scythe, behind me came the youth." ‡

Strutt mentions, among other methods adopted for this purpose, "also writing their names in a paper at 12 o'clock, burning the same, then carefully gathering up the ashes, and then laying them close wrapped in a paper upon a looking-glass, marked with a cross, under their pillows—and they would dream of their lovers." The following seems to be a Scottish charm of the same kind:—About

* Time's Telescope.

† Horda Angel Cynn, vol. III, p. 180.

‡ Thursday, or the Spell, v. 27.

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the year 1800, "a young woman in the Mearns went out upon St. Valentine's, or some other saint's night, to get a sight of her future husband. This she was to procure upon going to a certain hill at some distance, pronouncing a spell, and making a motion of weighing, while she had nothing to weigh. This she did accordingly. Her imagination being strongly impressed with the expectation of seeing something, she saw, or thought she saw, a coffin ascending in the smoke of the hill. She went home in a panic—told what she had seen—fevered, and died the fourth day after."*

Superstition formerly taught, that any person fasting on Midsummer Eve, and sitting in the church-porch, will at midnight see the spirits of the persons of that parish, who will die that year, come and knock at the church-door, in the order and succession in which they will die. Something like this is mentioned in the account of the observance of St. Mark's Eve, and the *Connoisseur* refers to it:—"My own sister Hetty, who died just before Christmas, stood in the porch last Midsummer Eve, to see all that were to die that year in the parish, and she saw her own apparition."

The forty days' rain, now ascribed to St. Swithin, or Swithun, formerly belonged to St. John; and to an old assertion—"pluvias S. Johannis xl. dies pluvii sequuntur," it is added, "certa nucum pernicies."

An old Scots proverb on *St. Swithin's Day* (July 15), prognosticates in nearly the same manner:

> "Saint Swithin's day, gif ye do rain,
> For 40 days it will remain
> Saint Swithin's day, an ye be fair,
> For 40 days 'twill rain na mair."

Ben Jonson speaks of it as an ancient rule in his time: Sordido, who reposes confidence in the predictions of his almanac, exclaims—"O here, *St. Swithin's, the 15th day, variable weather, for the most part rain.* Good! *for the most part rain:* why it should rain forty days after, now,

* Encyclop. Perthens. art. *Spell* (2.)

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more or less; it was a rule afore I was able to hold a plough —and yet here are two days no rain: ha! it makes me muse."* Dr. Forster relates the traditionary circumstance which gave rise to this rule, and which, says Mr. Howard, (on the Climate of London), "is so far valuable, as it proves that the summers, in this southern part of our island, were subject a thousand years ago to occasional heavy rains, in the same way as at present." According to the tradition, Swithin, bishop of Worcester, who died in 868, desired that he might be buried in the open church-yard—not in the chancel of the minster, as was usual with bishops, and his request was complied with; but the monks, on his being canonized, considering it to be disgraceful for the saint to lie in the public cemetery, resolved to remove his body into the choir, which was to be done with solemn procession on the 15th of July; it rained, however, so violently for forty days together, that the design was abandoned. The vulgar tradition adds, that the monks, finding it vain to contend with a saint, who had the elements so completely under his control, like discreet and prudent men gave him his own way: so soon as their intention was abandoned he became appeased, though not perfectly so—and hence still reminds the successors of these obstinate people of the permanency of his power.† The Saxon legend is silent on this subject.

In the 12th century, as in the present day, the French applied this observation to the day of St. Processus and Martinian (July 2), which a learned critic mistakes for Martinmas:‡

> Si pluit in festo Processi et Martiniani,
> Quadraginta dies continuare solet.

The Normans made the same observation on St. Medard's day, June 8:

> S'il pleut le jour Saint Médard,
> Il pluvra quarante jours plus tard:

* Every Man out of his Humour, Act I, sc. 1.

† Dr. Forster, Peren. Calend. p. 344.

‡ Cochrane's Foreign Quart. Review, No. II, June, 1835, p. 396.

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and also on that of Sts. Gervase and Protasius, June 19:—

Quand il pleut à la Saint Gervais,
Il pleut quarante jours après.*

In the northern parts of Scotland, this opinion is held with respect to the 4th of July, which they call *St. Martin of Bullion's Day*.† This festival, by the following ancient prognostication, appears to be the same as the feast of the Ordination and Translation of St. Martin the Great, whose nativity, otherwise called Martinmas, is celebrated in winter, Nov. 11:—

"Martini Magni translatio si pluvia det
Quadraginta dies continuare solet."‡

The Danes also prognosticate—not from St. Martin's Day, says Dr. Jamieson, but from the visitation of the Virgin, which falls on the 1st. The visitation, however, having been substituted for the festival of Sts. Processus and Martinian, occupies the second of July; and thus the two extremities of Europe, north and south, had precisely the same weather-gauge for the same period, except that the Danes believed that rain would follow for twenty days. Olaus Wormius gives the rule—

Si pluit, haud poteris cœlum sperare serenum
Transivere aliquot ni prius ante dies.

Our peasants, he adds, expressly assert that, if there be rain on this day, it will continue to the day of Mary Magdalen§—that is, from the 2nd to the 22d of July.

This general superstition has evidently been founded on popular observation; and certainly, in the major part of our northern summers, there is a showery period at this season. Camden, in his Britannia, having mentioned St. Swithin, Holland, his translator, adds in a note—"he still

* M. Pluquet, Contes Populaires, &c. 1834, 8vo, ed. 2.
† *Festum S. Martini Bullionis; Fête S. Martin Bouillant.*
‡ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Codex 9067, art. 15.
§ Fasti Danici, p. 115.

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continues of greatest fame, not so much for his sanctity, as for the rain which usually falls about the feast of his translation in July, by reason the sun is then cosmically with *Præsepe* and *Aselli*, noted by ancient writers to be rainy constellations, and not for his weeping, or other weeping saints, Margaret the Virgin, Mary the Virgin, whose feasts are shortly after, as some, superstitiously credulous, have believed.* *Midsummer Day.*

The predilection for the period of forty days is as remarkable in these ancient prognostications of weather, as in many customs derived from remote ages, which have given us the term *quarantine*. This, or rather *quarantena*, among military and monastic writers, denotes a space of 40 days. In a truce between Henry the First and Robert Earl of Flanders, one of the articles is to this effect:—If Earl Robert should depart from the treaty, and the parties could not be reconciled to the King within three quarantines, each of the hostages should pay one hundred marks.† By the laws of Æthelbirht, who died in 616, the limitation for the payment of the fine for slaying a man at an open grave, was fixed in the Saxon manner to forty nights,‡ by which they computed instead of days.§ The privilege of sanctuary was also confined within the same number of days.‖ By the ancient *custumale* of Preston, about the reign of Henry the Second, a condition was imposed upon every newly-made burgess, that if he neglected to build a house within forty days, he should forfeit forty pence.¶ There seems to be no reason to question, that this precise term is deduced from the period of Lent, which is itself an imitation of the fast of Christ, *Quarantine.*

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* Britan. vol. 1, p. 115.

† Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, p. 14.

‡ Gif man mannan of flæð æt openum græfe. xx. scillinga forgelde, and in xl. nihta ealne leod forgelde.—*Text. Roffens. p.* 2.

§ Gloss. art. *Night.*

‖ Matt. Westm. ad an. 187. Hawkins, Pleas of the Crown, vol. II. p. 335. Blackstone, Comm. b. IV, p. 332.

¶ Dr. Whitaker, Hist. Richmondsh. vol. II, p. 422, n. 5.

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BOOK II.

Midsummer Day.

who may have chosen forty days in imitation of the fast of Elijah, who copied the fast of Moses, who stated that the diluvial rain was upon the earth forty days and nights.* The Pagans themselves observed this number in the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, in which the wooden image of a virgin was lamented over during forty days, or rather nights, if the computation be not here the same as among the northern nations.† Tertullian relates, as a fact well known to the Heathens, that for forty days an entire city remained suspended in the air over Jerusalem—a certain presage of the millennium.‡

The following are instances of this predilection shewn by the founders of our legal polity, when they had occasion to limit a short interval of time for any particular purpose:—

"Anciently, no man was suffered to abide in England above forty days, unless he were enrolled in some tithing or decennary."§

"A widow shall remain in her husband's capital messuage forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned."‖

"The tenant of a knight's fee, by military service, is bound to attend the King forty days, properly equipped for warfare."¶

"By privilege of Parliament, members of the House of Commons are protected from arrest for forty days after every prorogation, and 40 days before the next appointed meeting."**

"The acts for preventing the introduction of the plague, direct that persons coming from infected places must re-

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* Genes. VII, 12.

† "Quadraginta noctibus plangitur."—*Jul. Firm. de Error. Prof. Rel. p.* 53.

‡ Contra Marc. lib. III, cap. 24.

§ Blackstone, Comm. b. I, p. 114.

‖ Magn. Chart. cap. 8.

¶ Litt. s. 95.

** Blackst. b. I, p. 165.

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main on ship-board 40 days before they be permitted to land."*

St. Ulrick's Day.

The 4th of July is also *St. Ulrick's Day*, of which the celebration was formerly attended by a remarkable custom within the body of the church; thus Barnabe Googe—

"Wheresoever Huldryche hath his place, the people there bring in
Bothe carpes and pykes and mullets fat, his favour here to win.
Amid the church there sitteth one and to the aultar nie,
That selleth fish and so good cheep that every man may bie."

St. James's Day.

On *St. James's Day* (July 25) oysters come in, being prohibited by act of parliament until the arrival of this day. It is a vulgar superstition, that whoever eats oysters on St. James's Day will never want money. The saint and the oyster-shell have been long in close connexion. The escallop, which bears his name, is of frequent recurrence as a bearing in coat-armour, where it is generally understood to be a memorial of former pilgrimage, performed by one who had worn the shell as a badge of his profession, or in token of the accomplishment of his vows. "The escallop," says a writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica, "was formerly worn by pilgrims on their hat, or the cap of their coat, as a mark that they had crossed the sea on their way to the Holy Land, or some distant object of devotion." In the old ballad of "the Friar of Orders Gray," the lady describes her lover as clad, like herself, in "a pilgrim's weedes:"

Pilgrims' Shells.

"And how should I know your true love
From many another one?
O by his cockle hat and staff,
And by his sandal shoone."†

In the old play of the "Four Prentices of London," by Thomas Heywood, the shells worn in the hat are mentioned among the usual articles of a pilgrim's wearing apparel:

Their Attire.

"*Godfrey.*—We come not with grey gowns, and pilgrims' staves,
Beads at our sides, and sandals on our feet,

* Gent. Mag. Sept. 1800.

† Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. I, p. 243.

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BOOK II.

St. James's Day.

Fear in our hearts, entreaty on our tongues,
To beg a passage to our prophet's grave;
But our soft beaver fells we have turn'd to iron,
Our gowns to armour, and our shells to plumes,
Our walking staves we have changed to scymetars,
And so with pilgrims' hearts, not pilgrims' habits,
We come." *

A different, and not very satisfactory, explanation of the custom of wearing the escallop on a pilgrim's dress has been offered by Brydson:—Like the pontifical usage of sealing with a fisherman's ring, it was probably in allusion to the former occupation of the apostles, that such as went in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Peter at Rome, or that of St. James of Compostella, were distinguished by escallop shells."† But the shells receive their denomination from St. James, and had this been the reason, we might expect to find St. Peter's as well as St. James's shells. The escallop was sacred to the latter, as the leek was to St. David and the shamrock to St. Patrick, and for a less mysterious reason than either, if we may credit Erasmus. One of his interlocutors (Menedemus) inquires of Ogygius, a pilgrim —"What country has sent you safely back to us? Here you are, covered with shells, laden with tin and leaden images, and adorned with straw necklaces, while your arm displays a row of serpent's eggs." "I have been to St. James's of Compostella," replies Ogygius. This grotesque attire was no doubt common to St. James's pilgrims. Again, Menedemus inquires—"What reply did St. James make to your professions?"—"None; but he was seen to smile and nod his head when I offered my presents; and he held out to me this imbricated shell." "Why that shell, rather than any others?"—"Because the adjacent sea abounds in these."‡

The shell, indicated as St. James's shell, is the *Ostrea*

* Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. VI, p. 508-9.

† View of Heraldry, p. 82.

‡ Peregr. Religionis ergo—in init.

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Opercularis Linnæi; and the custom of the pilgrims to Compostella may have spread to others. It certainly appears to have been general. Voltaire, in an argument against the Mosaic account of the deluge, affirms that the shells found upon Mount Cenis are muscles, either from the adjoining lake, or left by pilgrims in their way from Spain to the Holy Land.* This reason may, indeed, account for the shells found on a single mountain; but the phenomenon occurs much too frequently to admit of so easy a solution:† however, the attempt to explain the appearance of the shells in these places shews that, in the opinion of the sceptical Frenchman, the pilgrims of St. James, with their cockle hats, were prodigiously numerous. Warton, speaking of the pilgrims who returned from Jerusalem, St. James of Compostella, St. Bauno of Provence, St. Reine, Mount St. Michael, Notre Dame de Puy, and other places esteemed holy, says—"these pious itinerants travelled in companies, and, taking their station in the most public streets and singing, with their staves in their hands, and mantles fantastically adorned with shells, and emblems

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* Dict. Phil. Port. art. *Coquilles.*

† An English philosopher has the following appropriate observations on this and other attempts to account for this curious geological fact:—"The phenomena of shells found in rocks, at a great height above the sea, has been attributed to several causes. By some, it has been ascribed to a plastic virtue in the soil; by some, to fermentation; by some, to the influence of the celestial bodies; by some, to the casual passage of pilgrims with their scallops; by some, to birds feeding on shell-fish; and by all modern geologists, with one consent, to the life and death of real mollusca at the bottom of the sea, and a subsequent alteration of the relative level of the land and sea. Of these, the plastic virtue and celestial influence belong to the class of figments of fancy. Casual transport by pilgrims is a real cause (he alludes to Newton's *veræ causæ*), and might account for a few shells here and there, dropped on frequented passes, but is not extensive enough for the purpose of explanation. Fermentation, generally, is a real cause, so far as that there *is such a thing*—but it is not a real cause of the production of a shell in a rock, since no such thing was ever witnessed as one of its effects, and rocks and stones do not ferment. On the other hand, for a shell-fish dying at the bottom of the sea to leave his shell in the mud, where it be-

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painted in various colours, formed a sort of spectacle;"* and Boileau ascribes the introduction of sacred dramas to the representations of the pilgrims.

St. James's Day.

Legend of St. James.

The transformation of the apostle into a knight-errant, in the middle ages, was probably the reason that the shrine at Compostella was the favourite resort of pious travellers. Warton has briefly noticed the circumstance, and ascribes it to the chivalrous and fabling spirit of the Spaniards;† but Gibbon has investigated it with his usual learning:—"It would be absurd (says the latter) to quote, or even refute, the recent forgeries of Flavius Dexter, Marcus Maximus, Julian Pater, or Liutpraud, by which the Spaniards have endeavoured to support their favorite tradition, that they received the gospel from the Apostle St. James, in the fifteen years which elapsed between the death of Christ and his own martyrdom. If we except the ambiguous passage of St. Jerome (*Comment. ad Isaiam, c.* 38-42), the earliest testimonies which can be produced are those of two Spanish bishops, Isidore of Seville, and Julian of Toledo, who both flourished in the seventh century. In the ancient liturgy, which, after the conquest of the Arabs, acquired the title of the Mozarabic, St. James is celebrated as the Apostle of Spain. His pretensions were peaceably admitted into the offices of most of the Latin churches, and when, with the other arts, the art of criticism was restored, he could already boast an uninterrupted possession of 900 years. When the Roman breviary was corrected, under Clement VIII, a serious attention was paid to the doubts of Cardinal Baronius, and the positive assertion of the mission of St. James into Spain, was exchanged for the qualified expression of 'mox

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comes silted over and imbedded, happens daily; and the elevation of the bottom of the sea to become dry land has really been witnessed so often, and and on such a scale, as to qualify it for a *vera causa*, available in sound philosophy."—*Herschel, Disc. on the Study of Nat. Philosophy, ch.* VI, *s.* 198, *p.* 144-5.

* Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. II, p. 373.

† Ibid. vol. III, Diss. p. lxxii.

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Hispaniam adiisse et aliquos discipulos ad fidem convertisse ecclesiarum illius provinciæ traditio est.' This national disgrace was obliterated in the year 1635, after forty years' negotiation; but, by the anxious care of the church of Rome, the new form was composed in such a manner, as to guard the pre-eminence of St. Peter from the interference of any other Apostle in the West. From that time the Spaniards have triumphed; the French critics, Noel and Alexandre de Tillemont, have been obliged to offer their difficulties with diffidence and respect; and it is pleasant to see them stigmatized as freethinkers by the Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum mens. Julii, t.* VI, *p.* 69-114.) About the year 814, one hundred years after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, Theodorier, bishop of Iria Flavia, in Gallicia, guided by some nocturnal and preternatural lights, had the good fortune to discover, in the adjacent forest of Compostella, an ancient tomb overgrown with brambles, which contained the body of the patron and apostle of Spain. A rude and hasty chapel, suitable to the poverty of the Christians, was immediately built by Alphonso the Chaste, King of Leon, and in the year 876 his successor, Alphonso III, erected on that spot a temple more worthy of the majesty of the saint. By the verses of Walefridus Strabo (*Cœnis. Antiq. Lecteon. tom.* VI, *p.* 661), who died in 849, and by the martyrologies of Ado and Usward, it is evident that, before the end of the ninth century, St. James was celebrated throughout Europe; nor was it difficult to frame a legend, which accounted for the conveyance of his body from the country where he had suffered martyrdom, to the country where he had preached the gospel. The solitude of Compostella was insensibly changed into a flourishing city, which acquired the episcopal, and even the metropolitan, honours of Iria Flavia and Merida. During the tenth and the succeeding centuries, the Spaniards, the French, the Germans, and the Flemings, resorted in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; and such was the ardour of their zeal, that quarrels and even murders very frequently happened, while

St. James's Day.

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St. James's Day.

the several nations contended for the privilege of watching before the altar, *(Innoc.* III, *Ep. Ed. Baluz.* lx, *p.* 43.*)* In this new theatre the Apostle of Spain soon displayed his miraculous powers, for the relief of his friends and the punishment of his enemies. The former experienced his aid in the most imminent dangers and the most desperate diseases; and the Arabian General, Almanazar, who had dared to violate the sanctuary of Compostella, lost the greatest part of his army by the effects of the dysentery, *(Sampirus Austuricensis, in Edit. Sandvoul, p.* 70*; Roderic. Toletan. l.* v, c. 16.*)* In the wars between the Christians and the Moors, it was impossible that St. James could remain an indifferent spectator; and the Spanish soldiers, particularly the military order, which, under his patronage, was founded in the 12th century, devoutly invoked his aid as that of a good and valiant knight; strange as that title might appear for a saint, who had probably never been on horseback in his life* *(see Monachus Siliensis apud Francisc. de Berganza Antiq. Hisp. p.* 543*)*, it was soon justified by nocturnal visions, which prepared the minds of the Spaniards for the belief of a more public and visible apparition. At first, it seems probable that they contented

Titles of Saints.

* St. James was actually created a baron at Paris; thus Froissart, t. iii, c. 30—"Or eurent-ils affection et devotion d'aller en pelerinage au Baron St. Jacques;" and Carpentier quotes a Fablieau, in which there is another saint dignified with the same feudal title:—

"Dame, dist-il, et je me veu
A Dieu, et au Baron St. Leu,
Et s'irai au Baron St. Jacques."

See Warton, *Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol.* II, *p.* 345. But earlier than these was the addition of the title baron to St. Nicholas, as appears in the Norman life of this saint in Hickes *(Thesaur. tom.* I, *p.* 146, quoted *suprà, p* 68.*)* It is, however, to be observed, that *baron* is the same as the old Francic *bar, baro*, a man; and, in a restricted sense, *dominus*, a lord. In the Francic gospel, St. Peter is styled a baron. As to the chivalric title of *Sir, Sire*, given to many saints in legends and romances, it comes from *Seigneur*, and answers to lord, being applied to them in the same sense as *Domnus, Domna*, applied to martyrs and confessors. According to Mabillon, these titles were

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themselves with celebrating the miraculous aid which he had given to their ancestors; and we may observe that his exploits in the battle of Clavigium, so pompously described by Mariana, l. VII, c. 13, and Roderic of Toledo, l. IV, c. 13, are unnoticed by the more ancient writers. But, as the habits of faith were insensibly confirmed by time, and by repeated acts of credibility, the warriors of the 12th and 13th centuries could persuade themselves and their contemporaries that, with their own eyes, they had seen their heroic apostle mounted on a white horse, leading them to battle and to victory (*see Lucas Tudensis, ad ann.* 1230, *t.* IV; *Hisp. Illustrat. p.* 114.) In succeeding ages, St. James displayed his prowess in Italy, Flanders, India, and America (see a curious circumstance in *Robertson's History of America, v.* II, *p.* 448), and his influence was felt even when his presence was invisible. The day of his festival was auspicious to the arms of Spain, according to the admirable observation of Grotius—'diem quam Hispani felicem sibi credunt, et credendo sæpe faciunt.' Charles V chose for the invasion of Provence that holy day, which, in the preceding year, had been crowned by the conquest of Tunis; but, on this occasion, St. James and the Emperor were obliged to retire with disgrace (see a fine passage in

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particularly affected by saints in France, under the Merovingian and Carlovingian princes. The Italians sometimes called their saints *Messer Santo*, and *Madonna Santa*, where *donna*, a lady, is merely *domna*, from *domina*, which is also the origin of the French and English *dame*. The Arabians give them the name of *Mar*, which signifies *dominus*; and thus the Gospel begins—"Evangelium Jesu Christi sicut scripsit Mar Mathæus." The Syrians and Chaldeans place this word before the names of the Apostles and Evangelists—*Mar Marcos, Mar Phœtrus*, i. e. *Dominus Marcus, Dominus Petrus*. It may be a question whether *man*, connected with our Saviour in the Greek Gospel, is not to be taken in the same sense, and if the phrase, the Son of Man, might not be rendered in Norman French *Fitz de Baron*, or *Filius Domini*, the Son of the Lord. Two basso-relievos, in the Museum of Monuments at Paris, prove that, in the 13th century, saints were called *Monsieur* and *Madame*. The name *Domna* is commonly given to the Virgin. —*Lettera di Franc. Cancellieri, sopra l'Origine della Parole Dominus e Domnus, &c. Rome*, 8vo, 1808.

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the Mem. de Du Bellay, quoted by the Abbé d'Artigny, *Mélanges d'Histoire, &c. t.* II, *p.* 290.) The Bollandists, by whom I have been guided, have laboured the article of *St. James* with indefatigable diligence.—*Acta SS. Mensis Jul. t.* VI, *p.* 1-124." *

St. Christopher's Day.

The 25th of July was also dedicated to *St. Christopher*,† whose picture, according to Erasmus, was vulgarly believed to have the power of preserving its owner from a violent death; and represents his soldier as appropriately drawing with charcoal a portrait of the saint on the side of his tent. He adds that the following distich, which seems ingeniously contrived for the advantage of the printseller, was commonly written under the saint's portraits:—

> " Christophori sancti faciem quicunque tuetur,
> Illo nempe die non morte mala morietur." ‡

Lammas Day, &c.

The first of August has three principal designations—*Lammas Day*, the *Gule of August*, and the *Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula*, or St. Peter in chains,§ in allusion to which last, the day is marked in the Runic or Clog Almanac with a figure, evidently intended to represent a fetter, but left unexplained by Dr. Plott, who, thinking of Lammas Day only, could probably find no analogy between the name and the hieroglyphic.

With respect to *Lammas Day*, it is, etymologically considered, a corruption of *hlaf-mæsse*, or loaf-mass, which is a term of frequent recurrence in the Saxon Chronicle, where also the orthography, *hlammasse dæg*, is found in the account of the death of William Rufus,‖ and where, by way of confirming this derivation, it is said that Henry the First sailed for Normandy, in 1135, at *Læmmasse*;¶ Hlaf-mæsse

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* Miscell. Works, vol. V, p. 492.

† Gloss., *Sanctorum Christophori et Cacifati Festum.*

‡ Confessio Militis.

§ Gloss., *Aduincula Sancti Petri*; or *Advincla S. Petri Festum.*

‖ Chron. Saxon. ad ann. 1100. Dissect. Sax. Chron. p. 381.

¶ Dissect. Sax. Chron. p. 409.

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Lammas Day.

and Lammass are, therefore, the same. King Alfred, in his translation of Orosius, renders the kalends of August by hlaf-mæsse; and Somner, who quotes the passage, adds a sentence from the Saxon Chronicle, year 921, with a Latin translation, in which *hlaf-mæsse* is explained by the words "Festum Primitiarum," which he thinks fully express the meaning.* Hence Dr. Forster, perhaps not understanding Saxon, has been so far misled as to suppose that Orosius employed this date: "in Orosius we have *hlaf-mæsse*, for *panis festum vel frumenti primitiarum festum, Calendarum Augusti;* and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the word is spelled *hlam-mæsse.*"† Jacob puts forth the following untenable explanation—that the first of August was the day on which, "formerly, the tenants who held lands in the cathedral church of York, which is dedicated to St. Peter ad Vincula, were by their tenure obliged to bring a *lamb*, alive, into the church at highmass."‡ Barlow, Langbaine, or Hyde, who wrote the Catalogue of the Bodleian MSS. offers an opinion of the origin of the name, which is perfectly consonant with its Saxon etymon. Having noticed the gift of milk to the poor at Whitsuntide, he says that he believes the name of Lammas arose from a similar custom, of bestowing loaves on the poor on this day.§ Its primary origin may have some affinity to that ascribed to it by Gen. Vallancey, and quoted by Brandt—that the first of August was dedicated, in Ireland, to the sacrifice of the fruits of the

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* Speaking of the victory of Octavian over Antony, Alfred says—Dæt pæꝛ on þæne tiꝺe kal. auguꝛtuꝛ. ⁊ on þam ꝺæge þe pe haꝛaꝺ hlaꝼmæꝛꝛam *(Lib.* VI, *cap.* 19*), i. e.* this occurred on the kalends of August, the day which we name Lammas, *(Chron. Sax. an.* 921*):* ðý ylcan ꝛumeꝛa beꝛpeox hlaꝼmæꝛꝛan. ⁊ mi ꝺum ꝛumeꝛa, &c.; eadem æstate inter festum primitiarum et Solstitium, &c. "Festum primitiarum, vox, opinor, bene vertitur: presse tamen, panis vel frumentationis festum sonat."—*Somner in voc.* hlaꝼ-mæꝛꝛam.

† Peren. Kalend. p. 381.

‡ Law Dict. v. *Lammas.* Edit. 1743, 8vo.

§ "Non de dissimili causa et Lammas nomen inditum crediderim, a panibus eo die pauperibus erogari solitis."—*Bibl. MSS. Codex* 1963.

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BOOK II.

Lammas Day.

soil; that "*La-ith-mas*, the day of the obligation of grain, is pronounced *La-ee-mas*, a word readily corrupted to Lammas; that *ith* signifies all kinds of grain, particularly wheat, and that *mas* signifies all kinds of fruit, especially the acorn, whence the word *mast*." The Germans name the acorn *Eichel Mast*, or oak fruit.

Gule of August.

The *Gule of August*,* in our law books and ancient chronicles, is a name of which the etymology is not to be so clearly established as the preceding. "Gebelin," says Dr. Forster, "in his *Allegoires Orientales*, tells us that the month of August was the first in the Egyptian year; the first day of it was called *Gule*, which, being Latinized, makes *Gula*. Our legendaries, surprised at seeing this word at the head of the month of August, did not overlook, but converted it to their own purpose. They made out the feast of the daughter of the Tribune Quirinus, cured of some disorder in *Gula* (the throat), by kissing the chains of St. Peter, whose feast is solemnized on this day. So Sir Henry Spelman—'Gula Augusti sæpe obvenit in membranis antiquis præsertim forensibus, pro festo S. Petri ad Vincula; quod in ipsis calendis Augusti celebratur. Occasionem inter alias Durandus suggerit, lib. VII. cap. 19. Quirinum Tribunum unam filiam habuisse gutturosam; quæ osculata, iussu Alexandri Papæ (a B. Petro Sexti) vincula quibus Petrus sub Nerone coercitus fuerat, a morbo liberata.'"†

Lammas Tower.

The Lammas Tower in Scotland was a hut, or kind of tower, erected by the herds of a district against the time of Lammas, and defended by them against assailants. "The name of Lammas Tower will remain (some of them having been built of stone), after the celebration of the festival has ceased."‡

On this day it was anciently a custom, in contravention

* Gloss. *La Goule d'August; La Goule Haut; La Goule d'Aôut; Gula Augusti.*

† Peren. Cal. p. 381.

‡ Trans. Ant. Soc. Scotland, I, p. 194-8. Jamieson, art. *Lammas Tower.*

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of the proverb that a cat in mittens catches no mice, to give servants money to buy gloves, as an encouragement of their labour; hence the term *Glove Silver*. It is mentioned among the ancient customs of the Abbey of St. Edmunds, in which the clerk of the cellarer had 2*d.*, the cellarer's squire, 11*d.*, the granger, 11*d.*, and the cow-herd a penny.* Anciently, too, it was customary for every family to give annually to the Pope on this day one penny, which was thence called *Denarius Sancti Petri*, or Peter's Penny.†

Gule of August.

Glove Silver.

Peter pence.

The day of *St. Lawrence* (August 10) is not particularly distinguished, but one of the Randle Holmes has found the following curious record, acknowledging the receipt of his head in 1442:—

St. Lawrence's Day

> "Be it knowne to all men, that I Thomas Talbot, vickar of the church of Croston, berith witnesse and certifie that Mr. James Standish, of Duxbury, hath deliuered a relique of St. Lawrence head into the church of Chorley, the which Sir Rouland Standish k^t^ brother of the said James and Dame Jane his wife brought out of Normandy, to the worship of God and St. Lawrence, for the ꝑfite and auaile of the sayd church, to the intent that the forsayd S^r^ Rou. Standish k^t^ and Dame Jane his wife, the sayd James and his wife, w^th^ their ꝑdecessors and successors, may be in the sayd church ꝑpetually prayed for, and in witnesse of the w^ch^ to this my ꝑsent writing, I have sett my seale. Written at Crosten afforsayd, the 2 of March, in y^e^ yeare of our lord god 1442."‡

Receipt for a Relic.

The 15th of August is the festival of the Virgin's *Assumption*, and is not otherwise distinguished, than by the magnificence with which it is celebrated in the Romish church, and by the absurdity of Mr. Brady, whose remark

The Virgin's Assumption.

* Chartul. S. Edm. fo. 32. Cowel.

† Stat. 25, Hen. VIII, cap 25.

‡ Harl. MSS. Cod. 2042, fo. 239 *a*.

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The Virgin's Assumption.

(" that the Assumption commemorated actually took place, is what none within the power of the late Inquisition would dare to disbelieve")* proves that he was sufficiently bigoted, to ascribe to the modern Roman Catholics the almost forgotten errors of former generations. A learned writer of this faith observes on this very subject—"il n'est point, cependant, de foi, que la Sainte Vierge ait été enlevée au Ciel en corps et en âme." In former times, enthusiasm extended its belief to the assumption of both body and soul; and a preacher who had advanced propositions contrary to this superstitious doctrine was obliged to retract;† but it does not appear that even then the Inquisition interfered.

St. Roche's Day.

St. Roche's Day (August 16) was anciently kept like a wake, or general harvest-home, with dances in the church yard in the evening.‡ To this saint was committed the care of those who were infected with the plague, and who would sooner call upon him than pray to Christ.§

St. Helen's Day.

St. Helen's Day (Aug. 18) seems to have been observed by our old husbandmen in reference to their economy. Tusser, in his "May's short Remembrances," has these directions for the farmer:

"From bull, cow fast
Till Crouchmas be past— } *St. Helen's Day.*
From heifer, bull, hid thee
Till Lammas bid thee." ‖ } *August.*

This saint gives name to numerous wells in the north of England. Dr. Kuerden, in the middle of the seventeenth century, describes one in the parish of Brindle: he says—"Over against Swansey House, a little toward the hill, standeth an ancient fabric, once the manor-house of Brindle, where hath been a chappel belonging to the same, and a little above it a spring of very clear water, rushing straight

* Clavis Calendaria.
† Dict. de Trevoux, art. *Assomption.*
‡ Fosbrooke, Dict. Antiq. art. *St. Roche's Day.*
§ Erasmi, Ιχθυοφαγια.
‖ Southey's Poets, p. 171.

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upwards into the midst of a fayr fountain, walled square about in stone, and flagged in the bottom, very transparent to be seene, and a strong streame issuing out of the same. This fountain is called St. Ellen's Well, to which place the vulgar neighbouring people of the Red Letter do much resort, with pretended devotion, on each year upon St. Ellin's Day, where and when, out of a foolish ceremony, they offer or throw into the well pins, which there being left, may be seen a long time after by any visitor of that fountain."* A similar custom was observed, a very few years ago, by the visitors of St. Helen's Well, in Sefton—but more in accordance with an ancient practice than from any devotion to the saint.

St. Helen's Day.

* Baines, Hist. Lanc. vol. III, p. 497-8.

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Section V.

AUTUMN.

"——— Autumnat Bartholomæus."

BOOK II.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

THE author of the ancient distich, which has supplied an epigraph for each season, having probably observed that, by St. Bartholomew's Day, the showery period has generally elapsed, and the weather become more settled, was tempted to make the 24th of August the commencement of Autumn—about sixteen days before the Autumnal Equinox, and before the termination of the dog-days, even by ancient computation.

In allusion to the forty days of rain, which were supposed to depend upon the state of St. Swithin's Day, there is a proverb—

"All the tears that St. Swithin can cry,
St. Bartholomew's dusty mantle wipes dry."

The saint seems to have been formerly in great repute, if we may judge from the classification of his relics in a charter of Cnud, or Canute, King of England, by which he gives to the church of Christ the arm of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, with his great pall, the golden crown of his head, and the port of Sandwich.* A custom, which was not abolished till the middle of the fifteenth century, existed in the Abbey of Croyland, of giving knives to all who visited the monastery, in memory of the knife with which St. Bartholomew was flayed.†

At Donnington, in Lincolnshire, the ancient custom of strewing church-floors with rushes was some time ago annually observed on this day. In the morning a number of

* Text. Roffens. c. 33, p. 37.

† Dugd. Monast. Anglic. tom. II, p. 104.

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maidens, clad in their best attire, went in procession to a small chapel then standing in the parish, and strewed the floor with rushes. It is probable, from this circumstance, that the dedication-day of the chapel was not remote. In the old register of the parish of Kirkham, in Lancashire, there is an observation under the year 1604, that "rushes to strew the church cost this year 9*s.* 6*d.*;"* and under the year 1631—"paid for carrying the rushes out of the church in the sicknesse time, 5*s.*," in reference to an epidemic which had swept away the "more part of the toune."

St. Bartholomew's Day.

Du Cange notices the custom, and cites a monastic manuscript, in which it is stated that the almoner was bound to find rushes for the choir and cloister on the greater festivals.† A great number of passages from different authors are cited by Mr. Brand, in relation to rush-strewing: one of them, from Thomas Newton's Herball to the Bible, 1587, assigns the following reason for the custom:—"Sedge and rushes, with the which many in the country do use in Sommer time to strawe their parlours and churches, as well for cooleness as for pleasant smell;" Brand adds—"as our ancestors rarely washed their floors, disguises of uncleanliness became very necessary." A remarkable proof, were such wanting, of the custom of laying rushes in the parlours of gentlemen, is contained in a manuscript "History of a moste horrible Murder comyttyd at Fevershame in Kente," in the reign of Edward the Sixth. The assassins having strangled and stabbed Master Arden, "toke a clowt and wyped where it was blowdy, and strewyd agayne y^e^ rushes that were shuffled w^th^ strugglinge." The rushes were among the means which led to the detection and conviction of the murderers: the mayor of Feversham and some of the townsmen discovered the body in a field, and "than they lokynge about hym, found some rushes of y^e^ parlour stick-

Rush-strewing,

* "Same year, the churchwardens went through the parish to warn the people to come to church."

† Gloss. in voc. *Juncus.*

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BOOK II.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

ynge in his slippars," whence they concluded that he had been slain in a house, and not where the body was discovered.*

Julhalm.

A simple observation of the Suio-Gothic etymologist, Ihre, on the Scandinavian *Julhalm*, or straw of Yule, dissipates the learned conjectures of antiquaries as to the origin of the custom of strewing floors with straw and rushes. Allusions, it appears, are frequently found in Gothic writers: the author of the Life of Olaus Tryggv, speaking of Thorleifer, one of the Yule guests of Haquin, Earl of Norway, says, "selst han nidr ictarliga i halminn" (he sat down on the last straw)—an expression which, however, might seem to imply the use of bundles of straw, as the primitive predecessors of a more artificial convenience for repose, were it not otherwise proved to be the practice, to employ straw as a covering for the floors. Rudbeck, according to Ihre, derives the *Julhalm* from the rites of Ceres; while others suppose it to be a commemoration of the Virgin and Child in the stable; but Ihre more reasonably ascribes it to a natural desire to keep the feet warm, although, as he says, the custom was not peculiar to the northern climates, since it was also observed at festivals in France.† Some of our churches, being unflagged, certainly required a protection of this kind, and it is not unlikely that even gentlemen's parlours might be in the same state.‡ Disbursements for rushes in the parish book of Kirkham, before mentioned, never appear

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* Harl. MSS. Cod. 542, fo. 31, 37 *b*.

† Glossar. Suio-Gothic. tom. II, p. 1009.

‡ At the christening of the Lady Elizabeth at Greenwich (25 Hen. VIII), "all the walles betwene the King's Place and the Fryars were hanged with Arras, and all the way strewed with rushes."—*Harl. MSS.* 1107. "LVI. The proper officers are, betweene six and seven o'clock in the morning, to make the fire in and *straw* the King's privy chamber."—*Household Orders of King Henry* VIII; *Forsyth's Dict. Antiq. vol.* I, *p.* 193. Erasmus, in a letter to Dr. Francis, physician to Cardinal Wolsey, describing the interior of common dwellings in the reign of Henry the Eighth, says—"as to the floors, they are usually made of clay, covered with rushes that grow in fens, which are so slightly removed now and then, that the lower part remains sometimes for twenty years together, and in it a collec-

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after the year 1634, when the church was flagged for the first time; but the custom is still observed in Penwortham church.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

Rush-bearing.

The festival of *Rush-bearing* does not always coincide with the feast of the dedication; at Altcar, in Lancashire, the church is dedicated to St. Michael, and the rush-bearing is celebrated in July. Dr. Whitaker quotes a manuscript description of a rush-bearing at Warton in that county, which, as he remarks, is not unpleasing; it was observed on the dedication-day, Aug. 5, the patron of the church being St. Oswald, or on the Sunday nearest St. Oswald's:—"The vain custom of dancing, excessive drinking, &c." says Lucas, the writer, "having been many years laid aside, the inhabitants and strangers spend that day in duly attending the service of the church, and making good cheer, within the rules of sobriety, in private houses; and the next in several kinds of diversions, the chiefest of which is usually a rush-bearing, which is on this manner. They cut hard rushes from the marsh, which they make up into long bundles, and then dress them in fine linen, silk ribands, flowers, &c.; afterwards the young women of the village, which perform the ceremony that year, take up the burdens erect, and begin the procession (precedence being always given to the churchwarden's burden), which is attended not only with multitudes of people, but with music, drums, ringing of bells, and all other demonstrations of joy they are able to express. When they arrive at the church, they go in at the west end (the only public use that I ever saw that door

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tion of filthiness not to be named. Hence, upon a change of weather, a vapour is exhaled very pernicious, in my opinion, to the human body. I am persuaded it would be far more healthful if the use of these rushes were quite laid aside, and the chambers so built as to let in the air on two or three sides, with such glass windows as might either be thrown quite open, or kept quite shut, without small crannies to let in the wind; for as it is useful sometimes to admit a free air, so it is sometimes to exclude it. It would also be of great benefit, if the lower people could be persuaded to eat less of their salt fish, and if public officers were appointed, to see that the streets were kept free from mud and human ordure—and that not only in the city, but suburbs" (of London.)

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BOOK II.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

put to), and setting down their burdens in the church, strip them of their ornaments, leaving the heads or crowns of them decked with flowers, cut paper, &c. in some part of the church, generally over the cancelli. Then the company return to the town, and cheerfully partake of a plentiful collation provided for that purpose, and spend the remaining part of the day, and frequently a great part of the night also, in dancing, if the weather permits, about a may-pole adorned with greens and flowers, or else in some other convenient place."* Mr. Roby mentions it as an unmeaning pageant, still practised in the northern and eastern parts of Lancashire for the purpose of levying contributions. An immense banner of silk, adorned with tinsel and gay devices, precedes the rush-cart, wherein the rushes, neatly woven and smoothly cut, are piled up, and decorated with flowers and ribands in rustic taste. The cart, thus laden, is drawn round to the dwellings of the principal inhabitants by morrice-dancers, who perform an uncouth dance, attended by a man in motley attire, a sort of nondescript made up of the ancient fool and Maid Marian. This personage gingles a horse-collar with bells, which forms not an unsuitable accompaniment to the ceremony."† The rush-bearing is still kept up with much ceremony at Ambleside.

Dr. Johnston has preserved an account of a pageant exhibited at Dent, in Yorkshire, on the rush-bearing (St. Bartholomew's Day) after the Restoration, in which, among other characters, "Oliver and Bradshaw, Rebellion and War were represented, all decked by times with vizardes on, and strange deformities; and Bradshaw had his tongue run through with a red-hot iron, and Rebellion was hanged on a gibbet in the market-place. Then came Peace and Plenty, and Diana with her nymphs, all with coronets on their heads, each of which made a several speech in verses of their loyalty to their King.‡

* Hist. Richm. vol. II, p. 293.

† Traditions of Lanc. vol. II, p. 108, n.

‡ Ibid. p. 363.

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Rush-bearings have been absurdly attributed, in their origin, to an anonymous festival, in which the Pagans expressed their unity and concord by rushes. "I was let to this," says Ebenezer Hunt, "by examining the Latin, Juncus, a Rush, which both Rider and Littleton derive 'a Jungendo, quoniam ejus usus ad juncturas utilis; vel quod junctis radicibus hæreat.' From joining, because it was used for binding things, or because it joins together in the roots. It being the custom formerly to make ropes of them, and which, in some measure, obtains among country people in our day. And the roots adhering together in their growth, will bear the latter sense; either of which is farther confirmed by its German name, *Binz*, from *binden*, to bind.—Vide *Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, under* Schoinion."* This writer, as well as many others, confounds Rush-bearings with Wakes, which in South Lancashire, and no where else, bear the former name. On the feast of the dedication of the church, nothing seems more likely than that the people should supply the building with new rushes, and the ceremony of carrying them in procession on that day merely made a part of the ordinary festivities.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

The *Harvest Home*, which though varying in every country, is a period of joyful festivity in all; hence Dryden's song:—

Harvest Home.

"Your hay it is mow'd, and your corn is reap'd;
Your barns will be full and your hovels heap'd;
Come, my boys, come,
Come, my boys, come,
And merrily roar out harvest-home."

In different counties, harvest home has given rise to various denominations of the period in which it is celebrated: "we hear," says the learned Eugene Aram, whose conduct so little accorded with his attainments, "in different counties, and often in the same county, of Mel-supper, Churn-supper, Harvest-supper, Harvest Home, Feast of Ingather-

* The Rush-bearing, a Poem, p. 5-6. Huddersfield, 1784.

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BOOK II.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

ing, &c. The antiquity of the custom appears from Exod. xxiii, 16—'The feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in the field.' The Jews celebrated the feast of harvest by precept; and prior to this, Gen. vi, 3—'Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to the Lord.' Yet the offering of the first fruits, it may well be supposed, was not peculiar to the Jews. Callimachus affirms that these primitiæ were sent by the people of every nation to the temple of Apollo, in Delos, and by the Hyperboreans in particular, the most distant people that enjoy the happiness of corn and harvest. Herodotus also mentions the annual custom of the Hyperboreans, remarking, that those of Delos talk of 'Holy things tied up in a sheaf of wheat conveyed from the Hyperboreans."

Maiden Feast.

The Scottish reapers give the name of Maiden to the last handful of corn that they cut, and hence Harvest Home is there called *Maiden Feast.*

Cessation from severe labour, as well as gratitude to the rural deities, has no doubt had its share in the production of the mirthful festivities of harvest home; alluding to the full occupation of the labourer's time at harvest and in the vintage season, the French say proverbially that they have then neither festivals nor Sundays:

> "En Août et en Vindanges,
> Il-n'y-a ni fêtes ni Dimanches."

According to Aram, the harvest offering is a grateful acknowledgement to the sun, by whose warmth the corn has been ripened:—

> "At harvest home, and on the shearing-day,
> When he should thanks to Pan and Ceres pay."
>
> *Dryden.*

At the end of December, the Romans had the *Juvenales Ludi*; and in an old Kalendar, the ix kal. Jan. is called "Juvenalis Dies. At this time the country people, having gathered in their fruits and sown their corn, kept the feast of the Goddess Vacuna, who was so called, because she

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presided over those whose toil had ceased.* Some have supposed that this celebration is the direct origin of our harvest home.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

From whatever source the custom is derived, in all Christian countries, when the fruits are gathered in and placed in their proper depositaries, it is common to provide a plentiful supper for the reapers and servants of the family. The chief reaper was dignified with a title—

> "Grant *harvest-lord* more by a penny or two,
> To call on his fellows the better to go."
>
> *Tusser.*

Mell Doll.

At this entertainment saturnalian equality prevailed. In the northern counties a *Mell Doll*, or image of corn, dressed like a doll, is carried, amid the joyful acclamations of the people, on the last day of reaping. One of the verses of an old but vulgar song refers to this custom:

> "Odzookers! whom have we here now?
> Why sure it a'nt Black Moll?
> Why ma'am, you're of the fair sex,
> And welcome as *Mell Doll*."

Of the term *mell*, which Brande says "is plainly derived from the French word *mesler*, to mingle together (the master and servant sitting promiscuously at the same table),† Aram observes, that the usage itself accounts for the name of Mell Supper:—*Mell* signifies meal, and the instrument called by us a *mell*, with which corn was anciently reduced to meal in a mortar: and as the harvest was concluded with preparations of meal ready for the mell, this came to mean the last of all things; as, when a horse comes last in a race, they often say in the north "he has got the mell." When a man has been beaten in a fight, they usually say he has been melled, or milled, in allusion to the use of the mell.

In some places the Mell Doll is called a *Kern Baby*—

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* Rosin: Antiq. Rom. Corpus, p. 174. Ed. Genev. 1632.

† Obs. on Bourne's Vulgar Antiq. ch. xxxi, p. 303.

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BOOK II.

St. Bartholomew's Day.

kern being certainly a variety in the orthography of corn; *Korn* (German), the generic name of grain in all the Teutonic dialects. It is found in this sense in the old Runic line—

"Hagul ar kaldestur corna."
[Hail is the coldest grain.]*

Houseman takes a different view of the signification of this word "kirn," which, he says, "is a provincial term for churn, from the cream and oaten or wheaten cake, which was formerly the principal ingredient in the feast of corn-harvest in Cumberland, and it still continues to form the last dish of the Kirn Supper."†

The church of St. Michael le Querne, in which Leland the antiquary was buried, was called in Latin *St. Michaelis ad Bladum*, alluding to the corn-market which was held in Cheapside when the church was founded. It was destroyed in the fire of London.‡

There is also occasionally a harvest-queen, thought to be a representation of the Roman Ceres, apparelled in great finery and crowned with flowers, with a scythe in one hand and a portion of corn in the other.

St. Bartholomew in the Little Lake.

St. Bartholomew in the little Lake, called the Königsee in Berchtoldsgaden, an Alpine province of Bavaria, performs the office of Odon Nökke in the lakes of Scandinavia, or O'Donoghue in the Lake of Killarney. The Königsee, about two leagues in length and half a league in breadth, is as dangerous as romantic; and, says a recent tourist, "should a violent storm overtake us at a distance from its only port, destruction would be inevitable, since even an excellent swimmer would be unable to save himself, as there is no place where it is possible to land, owing to its being surrounded by perpendicular rocks, rising to a height of from three to six thousand feet, and in some parts they are

* Whitaker, Hist. Manch. vol. II, p. 302.
† Descript. Cumberl. Westmorl. &c. p. 77.
‡ Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, vol. I, p. 33, n.

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not more than a musket-shot from each other. In consequence of this foreknowledge of danger, and the caution it inspires, lives are seldom lost; but a storm sometimes arises unexpectedly; this was the case when several boats, containing forty persons, were overturned, and, as we are informed by a tablet in the rock, every one of them perished. In order to guard against any such mishap occurring to us, our chief, before he set out, invoked the protection of the saints, particularly the patron of the lake, St. Bartholomew, who, it appears, is very solicitous for the safety of aquatic travellers; for when our boatmen demanded of him, saying, 'Heiliger Bartholomäus, komm ich zurück? Sage Ja!' (Holy Bartholomew, shall I return? Say Yes): the propitious and good-natured saint immediately answered Ja (Yes) at least a dozen times. This auspicious response has some foundation for the character it bears for veracity, as when the atmosphere is heavy, in consequence of an approaching storm, the echo is silent." *

St. Bartholomew's Day.

The festival of the *Ordination of St. Gregory*,† celebrated Sept. 3, is the most remarkable of all the days in the kalendar, which are superstitiously stigmatized as Egyptian days, mentioned in the account of the *Eve of St. Paul.*

Ordination of St. Gregory.

On this day, at the coronation of Richard the First, in 1189, began a terrible slaughter of the Jews, which lasted several days; when, in the translated words of the old chronicler, Thomas Wikes, "an innumerable multitude of Jews were killed, and some, plundered of their goods and burned in the flames, descended to hell in a moment."‡ Such was the charity of a monkish historian. William Neubrigensis, noticing that this slaughter occurred on the 3d of September, says that it might have been called an evil or Egyp-

Massacre of the Jews

* Sketches of Germany and the Germans, in 1834, &c. vol. II, p. 300-302.

† *Ordinacionis Sancti Gregorii Festum.*

‡ Innumerabilis Judæorum interfectus est numerus, quidam vero flammis exusti, et bonis omnibus spoliati; descenderunt ad infernos in momento."—*Edente Gale, tom.* II, *p.* 34.

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BOOK II.

tian day by ancient superstition, as a presage of the Jewish calamity.*

Bede, in his obscure account of the Egyptian days, before quoted, particularly mentions the 3d of September (*suprà, p.* 152.):—

Tertia Septembris vulpis ferit e pede denam.†

St. Lambert's Day.

St. Lambert's Day, Sept. 17, is marked the 16th in the Fasti Danici, and is characterized by a hart, to denote the commencement of the rutting-season, respecting which Olaus Wormius mentions a vulgar error, prevalent among the Danish boors, on a matter of natural history:—"Persuasam namque sibi habent rustici cervum hoc die, per membrum genitale, sevum quoddam emittere, quod in torrentibus quandoque colligi assolet.—*Fides sit penes auctores.*"‡

St. Matthew's Day

On *St. Matthew's Day* (Sept. 21) the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and the governors of the royal hospitals, according to custom, attend divine service at Christ's Church, after which they repair to the great hall in Christ's Hospital, where they hear a Latin and English oration, delivered by the two senior scholars of the grammar school.

Michaelmas Day.

Michaelmas Day§ (Sept. 29) is one of the regular quarter-days, in most countries, for settling rents and accounts; but it is no longer remarkable for the hospitality with which it was formerly celebrated. Stubble-geese being esteemed in perfection about this time, most families had one dressed on Michaelmas Day. Numerous enquiries have been made by antiquaries into the origin of this custom, none of which are satisfactory, and it probably had no other meaning than that which is here assigned. Geese being later in some

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* Qui dies ex prisca gentili superstitione Malus, vel Egyptiacus dicitur; tanquam quidam Judaici eventus presagio."—*Lib.* IV, *cap.* 1.

† Grævii Thesaur. Antiquit. Rom. tom. VIII, p. 95-100.

‡ Fast. Dan. lib. II, p. 16. Jamieson.

§ *S. Michaelis in Monte Gargano Festum; Michalmas; Mighelmasse Misseles Day; Misselemasse; Migelmasse, &c.*

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countries in coming to the maturity which is required for the table, we find that they are introduced at a later period The custom is unquestionably of higher antiquity than the following record, which, however is curious:—"In 1470, John de la Hay took of William Barnaby, lord of Lastnes, in the county of Hereford, one parcel of land of that demesne, rendering 20^{d} a year, and one goose fit for the lord's dinner on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, with suit of court, and other services." Among the old charms mentioned in Bale's Interlude concerning the Laws of Nature, Moses and Christ, 4to, 1562, St. Leger (whose day is October 2) appears as the patron of geese; Idolatry says—

Michaelmas Day.

> "With blessynges of Saynt Germayne,
> I will me so determyne,
> That neyther fox nor vermyne
> Shall do my chyckens harme.
> For your gese seke Saynt Legearde,
> And for your duckes Saynt Leonarde,
> There is no better charme."

M. Stevenson, in the Twelve Months, Lond. 4to, 1661, mentions the following superstition:—"They say, so many dayes old the moon is on Michaelmas Day, so many floods after." The odd expression of "a goose with ten toes," said to be a mistake of "a goose *intentos*," which is equally absurd, has been attributed to the people of Lancashire, who, however, have no other knowledge of it than such as they glean from those industrious antiquaries, who have taken the pains to investigate the origin of a phrase, which seems to exist only in their own books.

At Kidderminster, on the election of a bailiff, says a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, "the inhabitants assemble in the principal streets to throw cabbage-stalks at each other; the town-bells give signal for the affray. This is called *Lawless Hour*. This done (for it lasts an hour), the bailiff elect and corporation, in their robes, preceded by drums and fifes (for they have no waits), visit the old and new bailiff, constables, &c. attended by the mob. In the mean time,

Lawless Hour.

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BOOK II.

Michaelmas Day.

the most respectable females in the neighbourhood are invited to meet, and fling apples at them on their entrance. I have known forty pots of apples expended at one house." This custom obtains at the present time.*

Lawless Court.

Camden says of Rochford, in Essex, that it is remarkable for its *Lawless Court*, held on the Wednesday morning after Michaelmas on a hill called King's Hill, in the open air, by twilight, where all the business is transacted in whispers, and a coal supplies the place of pen and ink. Absentees forfeit double their rent for every hour's absence.† Jacob says (quoting the Britannia, p. 411), that the servile attendance was imposed on the tenants for conspiring, at the like unreasonable hour, to raise a commotion.‡ It belongs to the honor of Rochford, and is called Lawless Court because held at an unlawful hour, or *quia dicta sine lege*. The title of it is in rhyme, and in the court rolls runs thus:

Its Title.

Kingshill in *Rochford* ss.

Curia de domino rege,	Clamat clam pro rege
Dicta sine lege,	In curia sine lege,
Tenta est ibidem	Et nisi cito venerint
Per ejusdem consuetudinem,	Citius pœnituerint,
Ante ortus solis	Et nisi clam accedant
Luceat nisi polus,	Curia non attendat,
Senescallus solus	Qui venerit cum lumine
Nil scribit nisi colis,	Errat in regimine,
Toties voluerit	Et dum sunt sine homine,
Gallus ut cantaverit,	Capti sunt in crimine,
Per cujus soli sonitus	Curia sine cura,
Curia est summonita:	Jurati de injuria.

Tenta ibidem die Mercurii (ante diem) proximi post Festum Sancti Michaelis, Anno Regni Regis, &c."

The Protestant inhabitants of Skie observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Good Friday and St. Michael, on

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* Hone's Every Day Book, vol. I, p. 1337-43.

† Gough's Camd. vol. II, p. 130.

‡ Law Dict. *v. Lawless Court.* I cannot find any such passage in Camden. Certainly it is not in the edition of 1590, or in that from which Gough's translation was made.

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which latter day they have a cavalcade in each parish, and several families bake the cake called *St. Michael's Bannock*. "They have likewise a general cavalcade on St. Michael's Day in Kilbar village, and do then also take a turn round their church. Every family, as soon as the solemnity is ended, is accustomed to bake St. Michael's cakes, and all strangers, together with those of the family, must eat the bread that night." "It was, till of late (says Macauley), an universal custom among the islanders on Michaelmas Day, to prepare in every family a loaf or cake of bread enormously large, and compounded of different ingredients. This cake belonged to the Archangel, and had its name from him. Every one in each family had his portion of this kind of shew-bread, and had of course some title to the friendship of Michael." *

Michaelmas Day.

St. Michael's Bannock.

By an act of convocation passed in the year 1536, by Henry the Eighth, the feast of the dedication of every church was ordered to be kept on one and the same day every where; that is, on the first Sunday in October, and the Saint's day to whom the church was dedicated was entirely laid aside. Hence it is that *wakes*, which were formerly celebrated at all seasons of the year in different places, fall about the same time; for the royal injunction is now disregarded.

Celebration of Wakes.

The celebration of these festivals seems almost coeval with the introduction of Christianity into England.† Our earliest ecclesiastical historian, Bede, has preserved a letter from Pope Gregory to the abbot Mellitus, written about the year 601, in which wakes are described:—

"When, therefore," says the Pope, "Almighty God shall bring you to the most reverend man our brother bishop, St. Augustine, tell him what I have, upon mature deliberation on the affair of the English, thought of, namely that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed.

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* Dr. Jamieson, Etymol. Dict. art. *Bannock*.

† Augustine and his companions landed in 597.—*Bed. Eccl. Hist. lib.* I, *cap.* 25; *Chron. Saxon. ad Ann.*

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Let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected, and let relics be deposited in them. For, since those temples are built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of the devils to the service of the true God; that the nation, not seeing those temples destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and, knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the same places to which they have been accustomed. And because they are wont to sacrifice many oxen in honor of the devils, let them celebrate a religious and solemn festival, not slaughtering the beasts for devils, but to be consumed by themselves, to the praise of God. Some solemnity must be exchanged for them, as that on the day of the dedication, or the natal days of holy martyrs,* whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves booths of the boughs of trees, about those churches which have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil."

The best account of the wake is unquestionably that of the learned Whitaker. He observes that every church, at its consecration, received the name of some particular saint; this custom was practised among the Roman Britons, and continued among the Saxons. In the council held at Cealehythe, in 816, the name of the patron saint was expressly required to be inscribed on the altar and walls of the church, or a tablet within the building. The feast of the saint became of course the festival of the church, which the people naturally celebrated with peculiar festivity. As this conduct substituted Christian festivals for the idolatrous anniversaries of heathenism, it was encouraged. Accordingly, at

* Strutt is mistaken in making Bede, or rather the Pope, say "birthday of the saint." The *natalitium* of a martyr is the day of his suffering, when he is presumed to be regenerated. The passage is—"ut die Dedicationis, vel Natalitiis Sanctorum Martyrum, quorum Reliquiæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, ex fanis commutatæ sunt, de ramis arborum faciant."—*Lib.* I, *cap.* 30.

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Michaelmas Day.

the introduction of Christianity among the Jutes of Kent, Gregory advised what had been done previously among the Britons—the substitution of Christian festivals for the idolatrous, and the suffering day of the martyr, whose relics were deposited in the church, or the day on which the edifice was actually dedicated, to be the established feast of the parish. Both were appointed and observed as distinct festivals, though confounded by Bishop Kennet, who, says Whitaker, attributes to the day of the dedication what is true only of the saint's day; and to the Bishop he might have added several others, had he been living. They were clearly distinguished among the Saxons; and in the laws of the Confessor, the *Dies Dedicationis*, or *Dedicatio*, is discriminated from the *Propria Festivitas Sancti*, or *Celebratis Sancti*. They remained equally distinct to the Reformation,* when, in 1536, the dedication-day was ordered to be kept, and the festival of the saint to be celebrated no longer. The festival of the dedication merely commemorating the commencement of the church, could not have been observed with the same regard as that of the patron saint, which, in pre-eminence over the former, was actually denominated the *Church's Holiday*, or its peculiar festival; and while the latter remains in many parishes at present, the other is so utterly annihilated in all, that Bishop Kennet knew nothing of its distinct existence. Thus instituted at first, the day of the tutelar saint was observed most probably by the Britons, and certainly by the Saxons, with great devotion. And the evening before every saint's day, in the Saxon-Jewish method of reckoning the hours, being an actual part of the day, and therefore, like that, was appro-

* In corroboration of Mr. Whitaker, if necessary, it might be stated that this distinction is absolute in a bull of Pope Alexander IV, in 1260. He grants a remission of one hundred days' penance to those who visit the church of the monastery of Lancaster, on the feasts of the blessed Virgin Mary, in whose honour it is dedicated, or on the anniversary of the dedication of the same church, for the sake of devotion.—*Registr. S. Mariæ Lanc. Harl. MS.* 3764, *fo.* 14.

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priated to the duties of religion. As they reckoned Sunday, from the first, to commence with sunset on Saturday, the evening preceding the church's holiday would be observed with all the devotion of the festival. The people actually repaired to the church, and joined in the services: thus they spent the evening of their greater festivities in the monasteries of the north, as early as the conclusion of the seventh century. These services were naturally denominated from the late hour pæccan, or *wakes*, and vigils or eves.* At Rippon, the anniversary of St. Wilfrid, the patron saint, as early as the eighth century is expressly denominated the vigil. But that of the church's holiday was named the Cýnic pæccan, or church wake, or church eve. So religiously were the eve and festival of the patron sainto bserved for many ages by the Saxons, even as late as the reign of Edgar, that the former was passed in the church, and employed in prayer. The wakes, and all the other holidays in the year, were put upon the same footing with the octaves of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. When Gregory recommended the festival of the patron saint, he advised the people to erect booths of branches about the church on the day of the festival, and to feast and be merry in them with innocence. Accordingly, in every parish, on the returning anniversary of the saint, little pavilions were constructed of boughs, and the people indulged in them in hospitality and mirth. The feasting of the saint's day, however, was soon abused; and even in the body of the church, when the people were assembled for devotion, they began to mind diversions and to introduce drinking. The growing intemperance gradually stained the service of the vigil, till the festivity of it was converted, as it now is, into the rigour of a fast. At length, they justly scandalized the puritans of the 17th century, and numbers of the wakes were disused entirely, especially in the east, and some of the western parts

* Spelman, somewhat weakly, derives wakes from pac, *drunkenness*. More properly this word signifies *weak, base, vile*—from pacean, *to fail*.

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of England; but they are commonly observed in the north, and some of the midland counties.

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This custom of a celebrity, he further observes, in the neighbourhood of a church on the days of particular saints, was introduced into England from the Continent, and must have been familiar equally to the Britons and the Saxons; being observed among the churches of Asia in the sixth century, and by those of the west of Europe in the seventh: and equally in Asia and Europe, on the Continent and the islands, these celebrities were the causes of those commercial marts which we denominate *fairs*. The people resorted in crowds to the festival, and a considerable provision would be wanted for their entertainment. The prospect of interest invited the little traders of the country to come and offer their wares; and thus, among many pavilions for hospitality in the neighbourhood of the church, various booths were erected for the sale of different commodities. In larger towns, surrounded with populous districts, the resort of people to the wakes would be great, and the attendance of traders numerous; and this resort and attendance constitute a fair. Basil expressly mentions the numerous appearance of traders at these festivals in Asia, and Gregory notes the same custom to be common in Europe. As the festival was observed on a *feria*, or holiday, it naturally assumed to itself, and as naturally communicated to the mart, the appellation of *feria*, or *fair*. The same among the Saxons, the French, the Germans and the Britons (*fæger*, *feyer*, and *faire*), the word was derived from the same source—the one ecclesiastical language of Western Europe. Indeed several of our most ancient fairs appear to have been usually held, and have been continued to our time, on the original church holidays of the places; besides, it is observable that fairs were generally kept in church-yards, and even in the churches, and also on Sundays, till the indecency and scandal were so great as to need reformation.* The

Fairs.

* Abridged from sect. 3, b. II, Hist. Manch. vol. II, p. 440-448.

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statute of 13 Edw. I, ordained that fairs and markets should be kept in church-yards.*

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The wake does not pass unnoticed by the agricultural poet, Tusser:—

> "Fill oven with flawns, Jenny, pass not for sleep
> To-morrow thy father his wake-day will keep.
> Then every wanton may dance at her will,
> Both Tomkin with Tomlin, and Jenkin with Gill."†

The poet of Fairy Land, Drayton, mentions the wakes of North Lancashire, at a time when these festivals had lost none of their pastoral character:—

> "So blythe and bonny now the lads and lasses are,
> That ever as anon the bagpipe vp doth blow,
> Cast in a gallant round about the hearth they goe,
> And at each pause they kisse, was neuer seene such rule,
> In any place but heere, at boon-fire, or at Yeule;
> And every village smokes at Wakes with lusty cheere,
> Then hey they cry for Lun and Lancashier;
> That one high hill was heard to tell it to his brother,
> That instantly again to tell it to some other."‡

Bishop Kennet, who considers the wakes to have been instituted in imitation of the ἀγάπαι, or love-feasts, says that "this laudable custom of wakes prevailed for many ages, till the nice puritans began to exclaim against it, as a remnant of popery; and, by degrees, the precise humour grew so popular, that at an Exeter assizes, the Lord Chief Baron Walter made an order for the suppression of all wakes; but, on Bishop Laud's complaining of this innovating humour, the King commanded the order to be reversed."§

Order of the Cockle.

Louis the Eleventh of France, about 1469, instituted an order of knighthood in honour of St. Michael, which, in England at least, was distinguished by the appellation of *Order of the Cockle*, and the knights of course were knights

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* Stat. 2, cap. 6.

† Ploughman's Fasting Days, stanza 5.

‡ Polyolbion, Song 27, edit. 1622.

§ Paroch. Antiq. p. 614.

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of the cockle. These names were suggested by the profusion of escallop shells, with which their robes were ornamented. Strutt has the following description, from a manuscript inventory of the robes at Windsor Castle in the reign of Henry VII. "A mantell of cloth of silver lyned withe white satten, with escallope shelles. Item, a hoode of crymsin velvet, embraudered with escallop shelles, lyned with crymson satten."* In Germany this order began in 1618, but its origin in Naples is unknown.

Society of Fools.

The first Sunday after Michaelmas Day was appointed for the annual meeting, conventicle and court, of the Society of Fools at Cleves, by the founder in 1381. This society, notwithstanding the oddity of its appellation,† was an amicable, and partly a religious institution, with an avowed object to prevent the rising generation from adopting bad habits and licentious manners. It was analogous, in many respects, to the gilds and wed-brotherhoods of the Anglo-Saxons, and to societies established by men of letters in various parts of Italy, such as that of the "Insensáte" at Perugia, of the "Stravaganti" at Pisa, and the "Eteróclyti" at Pesaro. The Order of Fools was instituted by Adolphus, Count of Cleves, in conjunction with the Count de Meurs, and thirty-five noblemen of Cleves. The original patent of erection was formerly preserved in the Archives of Cleves, which, however, were totally destroyed by the French revolutionists, upon their first irruption into Germany, and the only genuine copy of it which now exists is to be found in Von Buggenhagen's Account of the Roman and National Antiquities, &c. discovered at Cleves.‡ To this document are affixed thirty-six seals, all imprinted on green wax with the exception of that of the founder, which is on red wax, and in the centre of the rest. The insignium borne by the

* Horda Angel-cynnan, vol. III, p. 79.

† D'Order van't Geeken Gesellschap, *(the Order of the Society of Fools.)*

‡ A translation is given in Dr. Aikin's Athenæum (vol. II, p. 228), whence this account is extracted; and further particulars appear in vol. III, p. 113.

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knights of this order, on the left side of their mantles, consisted of a fool, embroidered in a red and silver vest, with a cap on his head, intersected, harlequin-wise, with red and yellow divisions, and gold bells attached, with yellow stockings and black shoes; in his right hand was a cup filled with fruits, and in his left a gold key, symbolic of the affection subsisting between the different members. It is uncertain when this order ceased, although it appears to have been in existence at the commencement of the sixteenth century, when, however, its pristine spirit had become totally extinct. The latest mention that has hitherto been found of it occurs in some verses,* prefixed by Onofrius Brand to the German translation of his father's (Solomon Brand) celebrated "Navis Stultifera Mortalium," by the learned Dr. Geiler von Kaiseyberg, which was published at Strasburg in the year 1520.

Respublica Babinepsis

Towards the middle of the 14th century, some Polish noblemen established an order of fools called *Respublica Babinepsis*, from the name of the estate of the principal founder, near Leublin. Its form was modelled after that of the constitution of Poland; like this, too, it had its king, its council, its chamberlain, its master of the hunt, and various other offices. Whoever made himself ridiculous by any singular and foolish propensity, was appointed to a suitable office. Thus, he who carried his partiality to dogs to a ridiculous extreme was created master of the hunt; while another, who constantly boasted of his valorous achievements, was raised to the dignity of a field-marshal. This order soon experienced so rapid an increase of members, that there were few at court whom it did not number among its associates.†

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* "Mancher das Narrenschiff veracht,
Das zu dem Ersten ward gemasht,
Und meynt, eswar der Narren Orden;
Der seh nun war draus sey geworden."

† Athen. II, p. 228.

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It may just be mentioned that an *Asinorum Ordo*, or Order of Asses, was instituted in 1198 by Innocent III, in the first year of his pontificate, under the title of *Ordo S. Trinitatis*, or Order of the Holy Trinity, which the people changed into Order of Asses, because the brethren rode upon those beasts instead of horses. On this account, the members were called in 1330, and perhaps earlier, Brethren of Asses.*

Michaelmas Day.

Order of Asses.

An institution of a singular kind, but connected with the Jacobite attempts to restore the Stuart family to the throne, was originated in 1701 by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Derwentwater;—Sir Thos. Sherburne, Sir Wm. Pennington, and a number of other gentry of Lancashire. But for the treason which was concealed under the guise of jollity and conviviality, their society seems to have been better entitled to the appellation of the *Order of Fools* than any of the preceding. The members constituted themselves into a sort of mock corporation, by the designation of *The Mayor and Corporation of the antient Borough of Walton*—a village in the vicinity of Preston. Their meetings were held at a small public-house in Walton, now called the Unicorn, and the proceedings were conducted with ludicrous formality. Their register contains a record of such of their transactions as it was judged might, without imprudence, be committed to paper;† and a mace, a sword of state, and four large staves covered with silver, served to keep up the mystery and whimsicality of the mock corporation. Their officers were, besides the mayor, a recorder, bailiffs, chaplain, deputy mayor, two sergeants, a *house-groper*, physician, taster, mace-bearer, poet-laureate, town-clerk, huntsman, *slut-*

Mock Corporation, for treasonable purposes.

* Les Frères des Asnes de Fontainbliau, ou Madame fût epousée."—*Du Cange, tom.* I, *col.* 761.

† In the accounts of 1745 is the following entry: "P^{d} 2^{s} 6^{d} for fixing the plates upon the staves, which were taken off on account of the *Rebels* coming hither." The word *Rebels*, Dr. Whitaker says, "is written upon an erasure, and I suspect upon the word *Duke*. They were only become rebels after their defeat."—*Hist. Richmondshire, vol.* II, *p.* 429.

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kisser, *custard-eater*, sub-deputy mayor, and others, who consisted of gentlemen, the heads of the most ancient and distinguished families in the county. Each of the staves had a silver top and hoop, on which the names of the mayor and other officers are engraved; but the hoops for the eventful years 1715 and 1716 are, it may readily be conceived, *lost*. The rebellion of 1715 took off some of the most efficient of the members; but the mock corporation fell into the hands of inferior tradesmen, who, having possession of the insignia, continued to assemble with some of the old formalities, but with neither the danger nor the dignity of their predecessors.* In 1809 the corporation ceased to exist, and the register and staves came into the possession of Sir H. P. Hoghton, Bart. of Hoghton Tower, in whose family they now remain.†

St. Luke's Day.

There is a singular custom in Yorkshire on *St. Luke's Day* (October 18), of collecting children with small whips, to lash the dogs about the streets; hence it is called *Whip-Dog Day*. This custom was formerly very common in the city of York, and is not yet entirely discontinued. Within these few years the custom existed in Manchester, on the first day of Acres Fair, which is held about this time. Mr. Ellis speaking of the Yorkshire Whip-Dog Day, asserts it to have originated in the following incident:—"The tradition which I have heard of its origin seems very probable; that in times of Popery, a priest celebrating mass at this festival, in some church in York, unfortunately dropped the pix after consecration, which was snapped up suddenly and swallowed by a dog that lay under the altar-table. The profanation of this high mystery occasioned the death of the dog; and a persecution began, and has since continued on this day, to be severely carried on against his whole tribe in our city."‡

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* Hist. Richm. ibid.

† Baines, Hist. Lanc. vol. IV, p. 330.

‡ Bourne's Pop. Antiq. vol. II, p. 323.

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St. Crispin's Day.

In many places, *St. Crispin's Day* (Oct. 25) is a great holiday among the shoemakers, and the origin of it is thus assigned: two brothers, Crispin and Crispinianus, who were born at Rome, travelled to Soissons in France about the year 303, in order to propagate the Christian religion. Being, however, desirous, of rendering themselves independent, they gained a subsistence by making shoes. The governor of the town having discovered that they privately maintained the Christian faith, and endeavoured to make proselytes of the inhabitants, ordered them to be beheaded about the year 308. From this time, the shoemakers have chosen them for their tutelary saints.

With reference to this day, Dr. Forster has introduced the following anecdote of Charles the Fifth. This Sovereign, in his intervals of relaxation, used to retire to Brussels; and, being desirous of knowing the sentiments of his meanest subjects concerning himself and his administration, he frequently went disguised, and mixed himself in such companies and conversation as he thought proper. One night, his boot requiring mending, he was directed to a cobbler. Unfortunately, it chanced to be St. Crispin's holiday, and instead of finding the cobbler inclined for work, he was in the height of his jollity among his acquaintance. The emperor communicated his wishes, and offered him a handsome gratuity. "What, friend! (says the cobbler) do you know no better than to ask one of our craft to work on St. Crispin's Day? Were it Charles himself I would not do a stitch for him now; but if you will come in and drink St. Crispin, do and welcome—we are as merry as the emperor can be." The sovereign accepted the offer, and, as a return for his hospitality, gave the cobblers a coat of arms—a boot, surmounted by an imperial crown. In Flanders, a chapel is still to be seen adorned with the boot and imperial crown; and, in all processions, the company of cobblers takes precedence of that of shoemakers.*

* Peren. Calend, p. 585.

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St. Crispin's Day.

Without disputing the truth of this anecdote (of which, however, Dr. Forster is not the original narrator),* or that of the numerous versions of the French Henry the Fourth's hunting adventure, and our "King and the Miller of Mansfield," or "King Edward and the Tanner of Drayton Bassett," it may be mentioned that there was formerly published, with such books as "the Merry Piper and the Frier," a story called "the King and the Cobbler," or an anecdote of Henry the Eighth, who, walking abroad in the night, to obtain the same kind of intelligence as the Emperor sought, met with a like accident and rencontre. The Caliph Haroun Alraschid seems to have set the example to sovereigns, who are desirous of privily ascertaining the sentiments which prevail among the lower classes of their subjects. However this may be, "the shoemakers of the present day are not behind their predecessors in the manner of keeping St. Crispin. From the highest to the lowest, it is a day of feasting and jollity. It is also, we believe, observed as a festival by the corporate body of cordwainers, or shoemakers of London, but without any sort of *procession* on the occasion—except the *proceeding* to a *good* tavern to partake of a good dinner, and drink to the *pious memory* of St. Crispin."†

St. Simon & St. Jude.

The feast of *St. Simon and St. Jude*‡ (Oct. 28) has been considered a rainy period—probably because observation has shewn, that the autumnal rains usually commence on or about this day. Mr. Brand observes, that this anniversary was deemed as rainy as St. Swithin's. Ralph Trapdoor, a character in the "Roaring Girl" (one of Dodsley's Old Plays, says§—"As well as I know 'twill rain upon Simon and Jude's Day:" and afterwards—"Now a continual Simon and Jude's rain will beat all your feathers down as flat as pancakes." Hollinshed notices that, on the eve

* European Mag. vol. XI.

† Time's Telescope for 1816.

‡ *Sanctorum Simonis et Judæ Festum.*

§ Old Plays, vol. VI, p. 23.

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of this day in 1536, when a battle was to have been fought between the troops of Henry the Eighth and the insurgents in Yorkshire (the *Pilgrims of Grace*), there fell so great a rain that it could not take place. In the Runic calendar the day is marked by a ship, because these saints were fishermen."

Allhallows Eve.

Halloween, All Hallows Eve, Hallon or *Hollen Tide,* and many similar names, from the old English *halwen* (saints),* denote the vigil and day of All Saints, Oct. 31 and Nov. 1. It is a season abounding in superstitious observances, of which only a few can be noticed. In Scotland, *to haud Halloween,* is to observe the childish rites appropriated to the evening of this eve:—

> "Some merry, friendly countrafolks
> Together did convene,
> To burn their nits, an pou their stocks,
> An haud their Halloween." †

Nuts, ale and apples compose the chief materials of the entertainment on this night: "I am alone," says a writer of the last century, "but the servants having demanded apples, ale and nuts, I took the opportunity of running back my own annals of Allhallows Eve."‡ From the custom of throwing nuts into the fire, or rather of cracking them with the teeth, doubtless originated the vulgar name of *Nut-crack Night.* The nuts are thrown by pairs into the fire, as an amatory divination, to which, common as it is, Gaule assigns no name or place, in his copious enumeration of the various methods of prying into futurity.§ Young people, anxious to learn their future lot in the connubial state, observe if the nuts lie still and burn together, prognosticating a happy marriage, or at least hopeful love; or if, on the

Nutcrack Night.

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* *Alhalwemesse; Alle Halwen; Alholtontide; Alle Halwenday; All Hallamas; All Halanday; All Saints; Festum Beatæ Mariæ et Omnium Martyrum; Festum Omnium Sanctorum.*

† Burns, Hallowe'en.

‡ Life of Harvey the Conjurer, 8vo, 1728. Brand.

§ Mag-astro-mancer puzzeld, p. 165. *Year Book, col.* 1517.

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BOOK II.

Allhallows Eve.

contrary, they bounce and fly asunder, a sign unpropitious to matrimony:

"The auld guid wife's weel hooded nuts
Are round an' round divided,
An' monie lads' and lasses' fates
Are there that night decided.

"Some kindle couthie, side by side,
An' burn thegither trimly;
Some start awa' wi' saucy pride,
An' jump out owre the chimnie."*

Gay, in the pastoral before quoted, mentions this sort of divination:

"Two hazel-nuts I threw into the flame,
And to each nut I gave a sweetheart's name;
This with the loudest bounce me sore amaz'd,
That in a flame of brightest colour blaz'd;
As blaz'd the nut so may thy passion grow,
For 'twas thy nut that did so brightly glow!"

The irrational passion of inquiring into futurity induces many persons to perform other rites of an idolatrous character, in expectation of seeing their future husband or wife, or of hearing his or her name pronounced. These are particularly described by Burns, in the notes to his beautiful poem on this subject. The ignorant and superstitious in Scotland are persuaded that, on the eve of All Saints, the inhabitants of the invisible world possess peculiar powers of mischief—that witches and fairies are rambling abroad, and that there is no such night in the year for intercourse with spirits, or for obtaining insight into futurity. An aërial excursion of the "good neighbours," or fairies, on this night, is described by Montgomery:—

"In the hinder end of harvest, at Allhalloween,
When our good neighbours dois ride; if I read right
Some buckled on a been-wand, and som on a been,
Ay trottand in troops from the twilight;

* Burns, Hallowe'en.

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Some saidled on a she-ape all graithed in green,
Some hobland on a hemstalk hovand to the sight;
The King of Phairie and his court, with the elf-queen,
With many elfish incubus, was ridand that night." *

Allhallows Eve.

In Lancashire, it was formerly believed that witches assembled on this night, to do "their deeds without a name," at their general rendezvous in the forest of Pendle, a ruined and desolate farm-house, denominated the *Malkin Tower*, from the awful purposes to which it was devoted: Malkin, as is well known, is the name of a familiar in the play of the "Witch," by our old dramatist Middleton.† This superstition led to a ceremony equally gross, and called, by a provincial pronunciation of light, which has been continued from Saxon times (leohτ), *lating*, or perhaps *leeting the witches*.‡ It was believed that, if a lighted candle were carried about the fells or hills from eleven till twelve o'clock at night, and burned all that time steadily, it had so far triumphed over the evil power of the witches, who, as they passed to the Malkin Tower, would employ their utmost efforts to extinguish the light, and the person whom it represented might safely defy their malice during the season; but if, by any accident, the candle went out, it was an omen of evil to the luckless wight for whom the experiment was made. It was also deemed inauspicious to cross the threshold of that person, until after the return from *leeting*—and not then, unless the candle had preserved its light. Mr. Milner describes this ceremony as recently performed.§

Resort of Witches to Malkin Tower.

Lating Witches.

While on this subject, it may be permitted to mention that Cross Fell, the highest of the chain of mountains which

* Montgomery's Flyting against Polwart.

† From the Saxon, maca, *an equal*; or the Suio-Gothic, *make*, a companion.—Vide *Ihre, Gloss. tom.* II, *p.* 119.

‡ A writer in the *Year Book* calls it "Lating the Witches;" and, taking it to be correct, it is only one of the innumerable instances in which Saxon words have continued to retain their sound and signification in Lancashire. In this case, it is a modern form of the gerund lætenᵹe, from lætan, *to hinder, to obstruct*.

§ Year Book, part XIII, col. 1558.

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stretches along the eastern frontiers of the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, is reported to have been formerly called *Fiends' Fell*, from the evil spirits, which are said in former times to have haunted the top of the mountain, and continued their haunts and nocturnal vagaries upon it, until St. Austin erected a cross and built an altar upon it, on which he offered the holy eucharist, and thus countercharmed those hellish fiends and broke their haunts. Since that time it has had the name of Cross Fell, and to this day there is a heap of stones, which goes by the name of the *Altar upon Cross Fell.* This is an old tradition which goes current in the neighbourhood.* In all probability, this altar was the work of the worshippers of Bel, on which human sacrifices were consumed. This circumstance, as we have seen in the case of the Wilder Lads† upon a mountain of Horwich Moors, which is still visited by the demon-rider, may have given rise to the notion of the fiends of the Fell. I do not know that Christian altars were ever erected upon barren and desolate mountains in this country; but similar heaps of stones are found in many such situations, and some are sufficiently proved to belong to an age anterior to that of the Druids.

Allhallows Eve.

Cross Fell Altar.

Druidical Fires.

The custom, common to almost all nations, of employing fires and torches in their ceremonies, has already been noticed. In Ireland, fires were anciently kindled on the four great festivals of the Druids; but at this time they have discontinued the fire of November, and substituted candles. The Welsh still retain the fire of November, but can give

* Lonsdale Mag. 1822, vol. III, p. 219.

† *Suprà*, p. 252. Bremonatacæ, the name of the Roman station at Overburgh, in the north of Lancashire, is derived by Gale from *Bre Meinig* [qu. *Maenig*?] and *Tan*, the hill of stone and fire; and he notices that the remains of a beacon are to be seen on the adjoining hill of Ingleborough: but, though the Toot Hills may possibly have been used for this purpose, it is not likely that the beacon of Ingleborough should communicate the significant name of *Bre Meinig Tan* to a settlement not upon the spot.—See *Gough's Camden, vol.* III, LANCASHIRE.

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no reason for the illumination.* The Druidical fires at this season were lighted in honour of the moon. This planet, says O'Halloran, was undoubtedly worshipped by the name of *Samhain*, and as the feast of Bel, or the sun, was proclaimed by fires and other public rejoicings on May eve, so was that of *Samhain*, or the moon, on the eve of November. It was the custom on the eves of Samhain or Bel, or of November and May, for the priests to light up holy fires through the kingdom—all culinary fires whatever to be extinguished, nor to be rekindled but by some of the sacred fire; and it was deemed an act of the highest impiety to kindle the winter fires from any other. For this favour, the head of every house paid a *scrubal*, or tax of threepence to the Archdruid of the Samhain. These holy fires seem to have been procured with great labour, if the custom were, as it is probable, the same as that which prevailed in the Western Isles. All the fires in the parish were extinguished, and eighty-one married men took two great planks of wood, which they rubbed together until the friction produced fire, with which each family was supplied.† Borlase, quoting the description of this pristine method, observes—"It is very probable that the *Tin egin*, or forced fire, not long since used in the isles as an antidote against the plague, or murrain in cattle, is the remainder of a Druid custom."‡ The *Tin egin* is evidently allied to the German *Noth Feuer*, *Nodfri*, or forced fire on the feast of St. John.

Allhallows Eve.

Tin Egin.

Noth Feuer.

Mr. Owen's account of the bards, in Sir Richard Hoare's "Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales," says "The autumnal fire is still kindled in North Wales on the eve of the first day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies, such as running through the fire and smoke, each casting a stone into the fire, and all running off at the conclusion, to escape from the *black short-tailed sow*—then

* Gen. Vallancey, Collect. Hibern.

† Hist. Ireland, vol. I, p. 113-221.

‡ Antiq. Cornwall, p. 130.

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Allhallows Eve.

supping upon parsnips, nuts and apples; catching at an apple suspended by a string with the mouth alone, and the same by an apple in a tub of water; each throwing a nut into the fire, and those that burn bright betoken prosperity to the owners through the following year, but those that burn black and crackle denote misfortune. On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any be missing, they betide ill to those that threw them in."

These ceremonies bear no little resemblance to those which are practised on the first of May, in the worship of the sun; and the allusion to the black sow, is a traditional commemoration of the sacrifice of the boar to that luminary, practised equally at Yule and the November festival. The hog, the boar, the serpent (hydra, or water-snake), the dragon (draco or weever, a reptile which buries itself in mud), are all animals delighting in moist and miry places, and on that account were anciently chosen as characteristic hieroglyphics of winter. The Egyptians had at first the scorpion, and then the polar bear, which they denominated Typhon (or the deluge), on account of the torrents of rain which fall during this season. By different authors, Jupiter, or the sun, is stated to have been nursed in his infancy by a sow, by she-goats, and by she-bears.* The same allusion to the wintry season has been remarked in the fables of Osiris and Adonis, and in this ceremony it is not less perceptible.

Halloween Bleeze.

In the *Halloween Bleeze,* or fire of the Scots, divination is also universally practised. A singular custom, blending the Scandinavian worship of Nökke, or Nekkar, with the Celtic rites of Druidism, formerly prevailed in the Isle of Lewes. Martin says—"the inhabitants of this island had an ancient custom, to sacrifice to a sea-god called *Shony,* at Hallowtide, in the following manner:—The inhabitants round the island come to the church of St. Mulvay, having each man his provision along with him; every family fur-

Shony.

* Faber, vol. II, p. 205.

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nished a peck of malt, and this was brewed into ale. One of their number was picked out to wade into the sea, and, carrying a cup of ale in his hand, standing still in that posture, cried out with a loud voice—*I give you this cup of ale, hoping that you'll be so kind as to send us plenty of sea water for enriching our ground the ensuing year;* and so threw the cup of ale into the sea. This was perform'd in the night time. At his return to land, they all went to the church, where there was a candle burning upon the altar; and then, standing silent for a little while, one of them gave a signal, at which the candle was put out, and immediately all of them went to the fields, where they fell a drinking their ale, and spent the remainder of the night in dancing and singing. The next morning they all returned home, being well satisfied that they had punctually observ'd this solemn anniversary, which they believ'd to be a powerful means to procure a plentiful crop." *

Allhallows Eve.

According to the same writer, the inhabitants of St. Kilda baked "a large cake in form of a triangle, furrowed round, and which was to be eaten that night." † Brand quotes the following illustration, from the "Festyvall of Englisshe Sermones:"—"We rede in olde tyme good people wolde, on All halowen daye, bake brade and dele it for crysten soules." This was the Soul Mass Cake which will shortly be noticed.

In Ireland, All Hallow Eve is called *Oidache Shamhna (Ee Owna)*, or vigil of Samam—the Samhain or moon of O'Halloran apparently; and Gen. Vallancey accumulates the following observances:—"The peasants in Ireland (he says) assemble with sticks and clubs (the emblems of laceration),‡ going from house to house, collecting money, bread-cake, butter, cheese, eggs, &c. for the feast, repeating verses

Oidache Shamhna.

* Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, p. 28-9. Jamieson, Supplem. *art.* Shony.

† Western Isles, p. 287.

‡ Hibernicè, I suppose; for an Englishman would take those weapons to be emblematic of contusions.

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BOOK II.

Allhallows Eve.

in honour of the solemnity, demanding preparations for the festival in the name of St. Columb Kill,* desiring them to lay aside the fatted calf, and to bring forth the black sheep. The good women are employed in making the griddle-cakes and candles; these last are sent from house to house in the vicinity, and are lighted up on the (Saman) next day, before which they pray, or are supposed to pray, for the departed soul of the donor.† Every house abounds in the best viands they can afford. Apples and nuts are devoured in abundance; the nutshells are burnt, and from the ashes many strange things are foretold. Cabbages are torn up by the root. Hemp-seed is sown by the maidens, and they believe that, if they look back, they will see the apparition of the man intended for their future spouse. They hang a shift before the fire, and sit up all night concealed in a corner of the room, convinced that his apparition will come down the chimney and turn the shift. They throw a ball of yarn out of the window, and wind it on the reel within, convinced that, if they repeat the paternoster backwards, and look at the ball of yarn without, they will then also see his sith, or apparition." The last superstition has been the foundation of a pleasant episode in the story of "Oonagh Lynch," part of which may be abridged for the sake of the illustration, and the additional circumstance in the divination—premising that Ellen, the heroine, was "the handsomest girl round about the country, but she was very proud and obstinate, and thought nobody fit for her or good enough."

"Now," proceeds the story, "in her father's house there was a lad of sixteen, and he was called Padyeen Carroch, because his name was Patrick. And his hair was bright red, and he used to put up the cows, and look after the pigs, and a very good lad he was though a servant, but little of his age; and Ellen Macarthy hated him because his hair was red." A young gentleman, son of the owner of the estate on which her father's farm was seated, pays particular

* The General means St. Columba, "whom the Scots (*i. e.* ancient Irish) call *Columchilla.—Menol. Saxon.; Cott. MSS. Jul. A.* X. *ad* 9 *Jun.*

† What does this mean?

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attentions to her, "and, as she knew the family were going away for the winter, she thought he would surely ask her to marry, that they might not be parted; but he only asked her to love him—which was easy talking."

"At last, the harvest being all in, the labourers were paid and sent away. On Allhallow's Eve, there was nobody left in the house but old Norah the servant, who was spinning by a fine clear turf fire in the kitchen. Macarthy sat opposite to her, in a high-backed chair on the other side; Paddy Carroch was mending a fishing-net by the dresser; and Ellen was nursing a sick puppy his honour had given her.

"'A fire's a comfort such a night as this,' says Macarthy. 'Ah, it's winter fairly set in,' said Norah;—Ellen sighed at the word winter. 'And it will be a hard winter, too,' says Norah, 'when frost sets in on Allhallow's Eve. But now we think of that, Ellen, sure when I was your age, it would not be nursing a puppy I was, but burning nuts to see whether my love was true—or baking a soot-cake to dream on—or throwing a ball of worsted to see who held; or——'

"'What is that,' said Ellen? 'I never heard of that.'

"'Why go to an upper window, throw out a ball of worsted, and ask who held? and the man you are to marry, or the devil in his likeness, will answer his name.'

"'Ah!' said Ellen, 'no devil can take his likeness; I'll try that.'—'And I'll go to bed,' said Macarthy.

"Ellen took a ball of worsted, and ran to the farm-yard, where there was a loft over the barn, and threw the ball of worsted out of the loft-window, holding the end tight in her hand. When she thought the ball had reached the ground—'Who holds ye?' and a voice answered, 'Padyeen Carroch.' Now Ellen had reckoned to hear his Honour's voice, and frightened and vexed enough she was; when she called again, 'Who holds ye?' and again the voice answered, 'Padyeen Carroch! And a third time she had the same answer in the same voice, which was the voice of Padyeen Carroch.

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"She was very angry, and ran into the kitchen, where she found him standing by the dresser mending the fishing-net, as she left him:—'Isn't it very bold of you, Padyeen,' says she, 'to come and catch my ball of worsted, and repeat your name to me, who am your master's daughter.'

"'Faith, Miss Ellen,' says he, 'it's myself that has never stirred from this place since you were in it, as old Norah might witness, if she was not gone to bed.'

"'How dare you tell me such a lie!' says Ellen; 'it's not five minutes since your ugly voice answered me from below the loft-window.'

"'Troth, Miss Ellen, it must have been the devil in my likeness!'

"This vexed her more than all the rest, and catching up a pewter plate, she threw it at his head with all her might. It knocked the poor lad down, and cut his head open, and covered him with blood from head to foot. He said nothing, but went to the pump and washed it off." The next morning, Padyeen left the farmer's service; the young squire returned, bringing with him a lady whom he had married. In a few years after Macarthy died, and Ellen, still refusing offers of marriage, managed the farm alone.

"At last, the hall was sold to a gentleman who had made his fortune beyond seas; a dark sunburnt gentleman he was, but very civil and well spoken, and a kind landlord. But it was all one to Ellen Macarthy—she was cured of expecting great men, and cared not for pleasing low men, but was content to die an old maid, as her chance seemed. Her landlord used to give his opinion about the farm, and seemed to understand it. After a-while, he told Ellen he loved her, and she liked him, and agreed to be his wife; so the hall became hers at last, and very happy she was in it.

"One day, her husband was thrown from his horse when he was hunting, and received a cut on the temple, but not a very bad one; and as his wife was bathing it, she said—'after all, this will soon be cured, and it won't be the worst hurt you ever had, my dear, for close to it I see you have

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had a horrible gash, where this great scar is—how did you get that Mr. Connor? was it fighting beyond seas?'

Allhallows Eve.

"'No my dear,' says he, 'that blow was given me by a woman.'

"'A woman! Holy martyrs! these wild foreign women are as fierce as men.—A *black* woman, Mr. Connor?'

"'No, my dear; the fairest girl in all Ireland, let alone Kerry—that blow was given by Ellen Macarthy!'

"Ellen shrieked; for though he was grown tall, and his hair was grown dark, and he was tanned by the sun, and had lost the brogue by living in foreign parts—she knew she was the wife of Padyeen Carroch!"

To the superstitious ceremonies already enumerated, it may be added that the Irish, on this eve, prepare a mess of cabbage and potatoes, with butter, salt and pepper, which they call *Colcannach*, as well as an Englishman, ignorant of Erse, can spell the name. A wedding ring is concealed in the dish, from which portions are served round the company at table; he or she in whose plate the ring is found will, it is supposed, be married before the expiration of the year. Previous to All Hallow Eve, servants are particular in cleaning the hearth; for if the fairies at this time should find the least particle of dirt, the unhappy floor-sweeper will have no luck for the ensuing year.

Colcannach.

Many of these superstitions no doubt originate with the Druidical, or rather Sabæan, worship of the moon at the festival of Samhain.

This luminary has always been believed to influence the destiny of man; the Saxons had prognostications on the subject, and even rules for the transaction of business, drawn from the age of the moon. One of their aphorisms was, that "if a man be born when the moon is one night old, he will live long and be wealthy:" another, "if it be twenty-nine or thirty nights old, he will be good, and worthy of friendship."* Among the directions for the regulation

Saxon Prognostications from the Moon.

* Hickes, Thesaur. tom. II, p. 194-5.

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of conduct according to the moon's age, it is recommended with great confidence, that "when the moon is one night old, go thou to the king, ask of him what thou wilt, and he will give it to thee: go to him on the third hour of the day, or when thou weenest that *he is full*,"* that is, after dinner.

Allhallows

All Hallows (Nov. 1) is sometimes named with old English termination of the plural number—*All Hallowen*, which has often been mistaken for the All Hallowe'en of the preceding day; and, in fact, the popular ceremonies which seem adapted to the one, are sometimes ascribed to the other. A reason for this confusion may be, that in some places, by process of time, the customs of the two days have become blended. The cake baked at St. Kilda, to be eaten on the night of All Hallowe'en, seems more properly to belong to the night of All Hallows, which is the eve of All Souls, and thence such a cake was called a *Soul Mass Cake* in Lancashire and Herefordshire. These cakes "some of the richer sorts of persons in Lancashire and Herefordshire (among the Papists there) use still to give the poor on this day; and they, in retribution of their charity, hold themselves obliged to say this old couplet:

"God have your soul,
Beens and all."†

In reference to this, or a similar custom of drawing on the charity of the wealthy at this time, Speed, in the Two Gentlemen of Verona, has the simile—"to speak puling like a beggar at Hallamas;"‡ and Mr. Tollet has appended one of those notes, which render the variorum editions of our poets as useful as entertaining:—"It is worth remarking (he says) that on All Saints' Day, the poor people in Staffordshire, and perhaps in other country places, go from parish to pa-

* On anre niȝhte ealðne monan. ƒaſ þu to cinȝe. biðe þæſ þu pille. he þæt ȝiſð. ȝanȝinto him on þu þſiðdan tiðe þæſ ðæȝeſ oððe þænne þu pene þ ſæ ſy ƒull.—*Cott. Bibbl. MSS. Tiberius, A.* III, *fo.* 39 *b.*

† Festa Anglo-Romana, p. 109.

‡ Act II, sc. 1.

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rish a *souling*, as they call it, i. e, begging and puling (or singing small, as Bailey's Dictionary explains the word puling) for soul-cakes, or any good things to make them merry." At great Marton, in Lancashire, there was formerly a sort of procession of young people from house to house, at each of which they recited psalms, and, in return, received presents of cakes; whence the custom was called *Psalm-caking*. The singing of psalms, and the name of the custom, seem to be only a misapprehension of the old term *sal-mas*, the mass or requiem for the dead, on Nov. 2, on which day this custom prevailed. The sal-mas continued to be the name of this office to the reign of Henry the Sixth:—

Allhallows

Psalm-caking.

> "Unto his saul was sho ful hulde *(held, bound)*
> Upon a sawter al of gulde,
> To say the sal-mas first sho bigan." *

The practice of going about to beg money exists at that place, under the same denomination.

Lamb's-wool is a constant ingredient of merry-makings at this season, and is prepared by bruising roasted apples, and mixing them with ale or milk. Mr. Brand is of opinion that this beverage obtains its name from the softness of its composition, and, in corroboration, he quotes from the Midsummer Night's Dream the following passage—

La Mas Ubhal.

> ——"Sometime lurk in a gossip's bowl,
> In very likeness of a roasted crab,
> And, when she drinks, against her lips I bob,
> And on her wither'd dew-lap pour the ale." †

This quotation, however, proves nothing more, than that Shakspeare was acquainted with that, of which it would have been strange indeed if he had been ignorant. Gen. Vallancey ascribes to the name an Irish etymon:—"The first day of November was dedicated to the angel presiding

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* *Sir Ywaine*, a MS. romance quoted by Warton, *Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol.* III, *p.* 122.

† Act II, sc. 1.

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over fruit, seeds, &c. and was therefore named *La Mas Ubhal*, that is to say, the day of the apple fruit; and, being pronounced *Lamasool*, the English have corrupted the name to *Lambswool*."

All Souls Day.

*All Souls Day** (Nov. 2) does not seem to be popularly commemorated in any remarkable manner in England, except by the custom of Psalm-caking, which has just been noticed. In the Catholic church, All Souls is observed by offering prayers for all departed souls in purgatory, or, according to the ancient Exeter Kalendar,† for all the faithful deceased. This ceremony corresponds with the Νεκυσια, or Νημεσια, of the Greeks, and with the *Feralia* and *Lemuria* of the Romans, in which they sacrificed in honor of the dead, and offered up prayers and made oblations for them:—

"Est honor et tumulis; animas placate paternas;
Parvaque in extinctas munere forte pyras."‡

According to this poet, the Feralia were celebrated on the 17th of February, and, according to other authorities, on the 21st; but the church of Rome transferred the festival to the second of November. It was originally designed to procure rest and peace to the souls of the departed, of whose state the Romans seem to have entertained as gross a notion as formerly prevailed among the most illiterate of modern times. Pliny, a man of learning and a philosopher, seriously relates an adventure, which seems to have served as the model of the greater part of the ghost-stories which have succeeded, and on that account it may bear abridgment.

There was at Athens," he says, "a large and commodious house, which lay under the disrepute of being haunted. In the dead of the night, a noise resembling the clashing of iron was frequently heard, which, if you listened

* *Almes; All Salwyn Day; Animarum Dies; Dies Animarum; Festum Animarum.*

† Harl. MSS. Cod. 863.

‡ Ovid. Fast. lib. II, v. 533.

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All Souls Day.

more attentively, sounded like the rattling of chains. At first it seemed distant, but approached nearer by degrees, till a spectre appeared in the form of an old man, extremely meagre and ghastly, with a long beard and dishevelled hair, rattling the chains on his feet and hands. By degrees, the house was abandoned to the ghost, until Athenodorus the philosopher hired it. The ghost appeared to him in the night-time, rattling his chains, and beckoning him with his finger. Athenodorus followed it with a light in his hand to the yard of the house, where the spectre vanished. On digging the spot where the ghost disappeared, the skeleton of a man in chains was there found. The remains were buried, and the ghost disturbed the house no more." * But it is remarkable that no ghost has ever appeared on the Continent since that time without rattling chains, a peculiarity which, I believe, does not accompany English spectres.

The feelings possessed by the Romans, that the manes of their deceased friends came and hovered over their tombs, smiling upon the humble offerings made to them by the hand of affection, still exist. The custom of beautifying the graves with garlands, arising from the same piety, was common with both the Greeks and Romans, and is every where referred to by the poets. For this custom, as observed in February, the church substituted the festival of St. Peter's banquets,† respecting the origin of which we have the following account: the heathens annually, on a certain day in February, were wont to carry to the tombs of their deceased relations a portion of food for their spirits (manes), which was devoured by demons in the night, but which the credulous heathens foolishly and ridiculously believed had refreshed the shades of their friends, which, ac-

* Plin. Epist. lib. VI, ep. 27. The rattling of chains was a principal accompaniment of Tartarus:—

——" Stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ."
Virg. Æn. l. VI, *v.* 558.

† *Festum Sancti Petri Epularum—ad Epulas—de Epulis.*

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cording to their notions, consumed the provisions while they were wandering about the tombs. This custom, and the error on which it was founded, were eradicated with much difficulty, and the means applied by holy men to this purpose, consisted in the institution of St. Peter's Chair at Rome and Antioch, to be celebrated on the same day.*

Martinmas.

Martinmas, Martilmas, the *Quadragesima Sancti Martini,* or St. Martin's Lent, of the middle ages (Nov. 11), was formerly a day of feasting and jollity. Dr. Stukely, in his Itinerary, speaking of Martinsal Hill, says—"I take the name of this hill to come from the merriments among the northern people, called *Martinalia,* or drinking healths to the memory of St. Martin, practised by our Danish and Saxon ancestors. I doubt not but upon St. Martin's Day, or Martinmass, all the young people in the neighbourhood assembled here, as they do now upon the adjacent St. Ann's Hill upon St. Ann's Day. St. Martin's Day, upon the Norway clogs, or wooden almanacs, is marked with a goose; for on that day they always feasted on a roasted goose: they say St. Martin, on being elected to a bishopric, hid himself (noluit episcopari), but was discovered by that animal. We have transferred the ceremony to Michaelmas." In some parts of the Continent, St. Martin's Day is still celebrated by a feast of goose:—

Martinalian Geese

> "Ligna vehit, mactatque boves, et lætus ad ignem
> Ebria Martini festa November agit,
> Ad postem in sylvam porcos compellit, et ipse
> *Pinguibus* interea *vescitur Auseribus,*"

Haltaus quotes from the *Annales Corbejenses,* that in the year 1171, Othalric of Sualenberg offered a silver goose to the brethren on the feast of St. Martin;† and though this may not have been Virgil's

> ——— argenteus anser,‡

it gives a tolerable remote antiquity to this peculiar observ-

* Belet. cap. 83. Durand. de Divin. Offic. lib. VII, cap. 8. Du Cange, Gloss. t. III, col. 423.

† Cal. Med. Ævi, p. 137.

‡ Æneid, lib. VIII, v. 655.

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ance of the day among Christians. Dr. Forster notices a French medal, embossed on one side with a goose, and, on the reverse, the word *Martinalia*. The festival, he observes, occurs when geese are in high season; and "it is always celebrated with a voracity the more eager, as it happens on the eve of *petit carême*, when fowls can no longer be presented on the tables of a religious age. A German monk, Martin Schoock, has made it a case of *conscience*, whether, even on the eve of the little Lent, it be allowable to eat goose—'*an liceat Martinalibus anserem comedere?*' After having dived into the weedy pool of the casuist's arguments, the delighted devotee emerges, with the permission to roast his goose; and thus the goose came to be a standing dish on Martinmas, as well as on Michaelmas Day."*

Martinmas.

Another very odd argument was invented, to shew that solan geese might be lawfully eaten on fast-days—and a still more extraordinary one in reply to it. A writer in Dr. Aikin's Athenæum says—"it is scarcely necessary to premise, that these *Bernacles* were, according to common opinion, 'fowles lyke to wylde ghees, which growen wonderly upon trees, as it were nature wrought agayne kynde. Men of religyon ete bernacles on fastynge dayes, by cause they ben not engendred of flesshe, wherin as me thinketh they erre. For reason is agaynst that. For yf a man had eten of Adam's legge he had eten flesshe; and yet Adam was not engendred of fader and moder, but that flesshe came wonderly of the erthe, and so this flesshe cometh wonderly of the tree."† The French, says Ledwich, eat the macreuse, or sea-duck, as being fish not fowl; and it is a remark of a quaker (Dr. Rutty), that they who can believe bread to be flesh, may well be excused for believing flesh to be fish.‡

Bernacles, or Tree Geese.

The macreuse, which Richelet describes as a sort of bird bearing some resemblance to a duck, and which was pro-

* Peren. Calend. p. 627.

† Polycronicon. L. I, c. 32. Athen. vol. II, p. 584.

‡ Athen. ibid.

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Martinmas.

bably no other than the puffin, was confounded with the fabulous bernacle—and, it appears, to which Vincent of Burgundy, bishop of Beauvais in the 13th century, alludes, when he says it is certain that, on the German coast, they neither generate, nor are produced in the usual way: that no man has ever seen them procreate, whence some Christians, in our age, used their flesh in Lent in places where those birds abound, until they were prohibited by Pope Innocent, in the General Lateran Council.

The belief in the existence of the bernacle was, at one period almost universal. Men of superior education had no doubt that shells, containing birds, grew upon trees; and naturalists, reasoning upon the production of the lower animals, adduced the bernacle as a remarkable instance of forfortuitous generation. Shakspeare, who caused his characters to speak according to their nature, and not according to his own opinions, puts language into the mouth of one, who seems to have considered the existence of tree birds equally certain or equally doubtful with that of apes:

> "And all be turn'd to Barnacles, or to apes
> With foreheads villainous low." *

A writer in Blackwood's Magazine, for Sept. 1818, has collected many curious passages from respectable writers on this subject, of which only so much can be inserted here as will suffice to explain the nature, and exhibit the prevalence, of this strange vagary of the mind. The principal is Gerard, the herbalist, who professes to speak "the naked and bare truth, though unpolished." Speaking of the Orkney Isles, he says there are "certaine trees, whereon do grow certaine shells of a white colour, tending to russet; wherein are contained little living creatures, which, falling into the water, do become fowles, which we call barnacles—in the north of England *brant geese*—and in Lancashire *tree geese;* but the other that do fall upon the land, perish and

* The Tempest, Act IV, sc. 1.

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come to nothing. Thus much by the writings of others, and also from the mouthes of people of those parts, which may very well accord with the truth.—But what our eies have seen, and our hands touched, we shall declare. There is a small island in Lancashire called the Pile of Foulders, wherein are found the broken pieces of old and bruised ships, some whereof have been cast thither by shipwracke, and also the trunks and bodies with the branches of old and rotten trees, cast up there likewise; whereon is found a certain spume or froth, that in time breedeth to certaine shells, in shape like those of the muskle, but sharper pointed, and of a whitish colour; wherein is contained a thing in forme like a lace of silke, finely woven as it were together, of a whitish colour, one end whereof is fastened unto the inside of the shell, even as the fish of oistres and muskles are: the other end is made fast unto the belly of a rude masse or lumpe, which in time commeth to the shape and forme of a bird: when it is perfectly formed the shell gapeth open, and the first thing that appeareth is the aforesaid lace or string, next come the legs of the bird hanging out, and as it groweth greater it openeth the shell by degrees, till at length it is all come forthe, and hangeth onely by the bill; in short space after it commeth to full maturitie, and falleth into the see, where it gathereth feathers, and groweth to a fowle biggar than a mallard, and lesser than a goose; having blacke legs and bill or beake, and feathers blacke and white, spotted in such a manner as is our magpies, called in some places a pie-annet, which the people in Lancashire call by no other name than a tree goose; which place aforesaid, and all those parts adjoining, do so much abound therewith, that one of the best is bought for threepence. For the truth hereof, if any doubt, may it please them to repaire unto me, and I shall satisfie them by the testimonie of good witnesses."

Sylvester Giraldus, in his Topography of Ireland, describes the "bernacæ" as natives of that country, and as eaten in time of fasts, "because they were not born of flesh."

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BOOK II.

Martinmas.

The most curious thing in the history of this production is, that by a public sentence pronounced on it in the Sorbonne of Paris, it was declared that, for the reasons therein contained, these geese were no longer to be considered as birds, and were therefore allowed to be eaten in Lent and during all fasting seasons. This is not the only instance of a law of nature being set aside by a religious edict. It is, however, rather amusing, that the birds (or fish, as they are considered) which are allowed by the Catholic church are all of the flat-billed kind, which, feeding less upon fish (properly so called) than upon shell-fish, grain, and various other substances, have a much more delicate and palatable flesh.*

Credulity has surpassed even the fable of the tree goose. A Normanno-Saxon collector of accounts of extraordinary productions in Asia, mentions trees on which precious stones are produced, and have germinated from them.† In the next paragraph, he states that there is also a very black race of men called Ethiops, a circumstance evidently considered equally wonderful and equally credible with the stone-trees.

A little poem, of the age of Queen Elizabeth, pleasingly describes the manner in which this season was passed by our ever-youthful forefathers:—

MARTILMASSE DAY.

1. It is the day of Martilmasse,
Cuppes of ale should freelie passe;
What though Wynter has begunne
To push downe the Summer sunne,
To our fire we can betake,
And enjoy the crackling brake,
Never heeding Wynter's face
On the day of Martilmasse.

* Blackwood's Mag. vol. III, p. 671-9

† Donne ſynƀon ƭpeop cynn oꝼ ðam. ða ƀeoꝛ peoꝛƭan ƭranaꝛ beoð acenƀe ⁊ þanon þ ƭe hi ƭpopað.—*Bibl. Cott. MSS. Cod. Vitellius, A. XV, fo. 103, b.*

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Martinmas.

2. Some do the city now frequent,
Where costlie shows and merriment
Do weare the vaporish eveninge out
With interlude and revellynge rout;
Such as did pleasure Englande's queene
When here her royal grace was seene,
Yet will they not this day let passe,
The merrie day of Martilmasse.

3. When the dailie sportes be done,
Round the market crosse they runne,
Prentis laddes and gallant blades,
Dancing with their gamesome maids,
Till the Beadel, stout and sowre,
Shakes his bell, and calls the houre;
Then farewell ladde, and farewell lasse,
To the merrie night of Martilmasse.

4. Martilmasse shall come againe,
Spite of wind, and snow, and raine,
But many a strange thing must be done,
Many a cause be lost and won,
Many a fool must leave his pelfe,
Many a worldlinge cheate himselfe,
And many a marvel come to passe,
Before return of Martilmasse.*

In illustration of the second stanza, we may refer to a passage quoted by an old historian from M. Bellay, who, in his account of Montmorency's embassy to Henry the Eighth, in 1527, says—"Returning to London, we were, on St. Martin's Day, invited by the king to Greenwich to a banquet, the most sumptuous that ever I beheld, whether you consider the dishes, or the music and the plays, wherein the Lady Mary, the king's daughter, acted a part."†

Chercheseed.

A Norman writer, quoted by Wilkins in his Glossary, mentions chercheseed as a tribute of reaped corn paid, in the time of the Britons and Angles, to their churches on St. Martin's Day;‡ and, in fact, we find in the laws of Ethel-

* Time's Telescope, 1814.

† Godwyn's Annals, p. 49. Lond. 1678, fol.

‡ See the quotation suprà, p. 110, *n.*

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BOOK II.

red and of Canute, a regulation for the payment of church scot, which, having been translated *Primitiæ Ecclesiæ*, instead of *Ecclesiæ Census*, in the Laws of Ina, has been mistaken by antiquaries, who consult Saxon laws by means of Latin versions, for a proof of the antiquity of first fruits, as understood by the Popes, Henry VIII, and Queen Anne.

Martinmas.

Salt Silver

To this day is to be referred the feudal tribute called *Salt Silver*, which was a penny anciently paid on this festival by the servile customary tenants of some manors, as a commutation of the service of carrying their lord's salt from market to his larder.*

St. Brice's Day.

Bull Running.

St. Brice's Day (Nov. 13), in the 16th century, was celebrated by a rough sport called *bull-running*, of which Strutt gives a long description, from Butcher's Survey of Stamford in Lincolnshire, p. 40. It commences thus:—"The Bull Running is a sport of no pleasure, except to such as take a pleasure in beastliness and mischief; it is performed just the day six weeks before Christmas."†

St. Edmund's Day.

Serjeants' Feast.

On the 16th of November, which was dedicated to *St. Edmund*, Archbishop of Canterbury, the feast on the call of Serjeants-at-Law was celebrated, but had no reference to the canonical patron of the day. Lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry the Seventh, speaking of the year 1495, says—"Vpon the sixteenth of Nouember (this being the eleuenth yeare of the King), was holden the *Serieants' Feast* at Elie Place; there being nine serieants of that call. The King, to honor the feast, was present with his Queene at the dinner; being a Prince that was euer ready to grace and covntenance the professors of the law; hauing a little of that, 'that as he gouerned his subiects by his lawes, so he gouerned his lawes by his lawyers.'"‡ In the "Privy-purse Expences" of this King is a disbursement, under the year

* Kennett, Paroch. Antiq. p. 496.

† Glig Gamena, b. iii, ch. 7, s. 17. Fuller quotes the same passage—*Worthies, vol.* II, *p.* 6, *ed. 4to.*

‡ Henry the Seventh, p. 142. Edit. fol. 1629.

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1495, on account of this visit, mentioned by his biographer:—

"Nov. 16, To Savage, for rowing the King opon Monday to the Sergeant's feste, 16s" *

Lord Bacon also notices another feast of the same kind, in the nineteenth year of the same reign, 1503.—"This yeare," he says, "was also kept the serieants' feast, which was the second call in this king's days." †

Good and Bad Omens.

Unconnected with any particular day are many of the following superstitions, with respect to *omens*. If, on setting out on a journey, a sow with pig were met, the journey was sure to be successful. To meet two magpies portended marriage; three, a successful journey;‡ four, unexpected good news, and five, that the person would soon be in company with the great.

If, in dressing, a person put his stocking on the wrong side out, it was a sign of good luck; but the luck might be expected to change if the stockings were turned the right way. If the stocking were put on the wrong side out on the marriage day, it portended a disastrous union.

Nothing could ensure success to a person going on important business more effectually, than throwing an old shoe after him when he left the house.

If a younger sister were married before the others, the latter should take care to dance at her wedding without shoes, otherwise they could never hope to get husbands.

To find a horse-shoe was deemed lucky; and it was still more so when preserved and nailed on the door, as it thus prevented witchcraft.

In England, and more particularly in Wales, according

* Excerpta Historica, p. 106. In the various quotations which have been introduced from this curious article, the figures and the orthography are the same as in the Excerpts; but neither is conformable, in all respects, to the usage of the time: the original MS. seems to have had a bad transcriber.

† Lib. cit. p. 217.

‡ According to Sir W. Scott, quoted in the introduction to M. G. Lewis's tale of *Bill Jones*, this was an evil omen.

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BOOK II.

Good and Bad Omens.

to Pennant, it is a good omen if the sun shines on a married couple, or if it rains when a corpse is being buried—according to the distich,

"Happy is the bride the sun shines on;
Happy is the corpse the rain rains on."

To see one magpie, and then more, is unlucky;* to kill a magpie is an irretrievable misfortune (to the bird?) It is also unlucky to kill a swallow, or, more properly, the house-martin.

If a sow cross the road, the traveller, if he cannot pass it, must ride round about, otherwise bad luck will attend his journey.

If a lover presents a knife or any sharp instrument to his mistress, it portends that their loves will be cut asunder, unless he take a pin or other trifling article in exchange. In the words of an old song—

"He bought a ring with posy true;—
'If you love me as I love you,
No knife can cut our loves in two.'"

To find a knife or a razor portends disappointment; a piece of coal of a hollow form starting from the fire portends death. To spill the salt, or lay the knife and fork across each other at table, is very ominous. If there be in company thirteen, some misfortune will befal one of them. The noise of a small insect called the death-watch foretels death; and the screech-owl at midnight some great misfortune.

In the Highlands of Scotland omens are very numerous. It is unlucky to stumble at the threshold, or to be obliged to return for any thing forgotten. To step over a gun or a fishing-rod spoils sport. If, when the servant is making a bed, she happens to sneeze, the sleep of the person who is to lie in it will be disturbed, unless a little of the straw (with which beds in the Highlands were till lately stuffed) is taken out, and thrown into the fire.

* The clown, in the Lancashire dialect, ascribes his falling over head into a ditch to one of these birds, which he calls a piannet.

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Good and Bad Omens.

If a black cloud is seen on New Year's Eve, it portends some dreadful calamity, either to the country, or to the person on whose estate or house it appears. The day of the week on which the 3rd of May (one of the Holy-Rood days) falls is esteemed unlucky for many things—especially for digging peat, or taking an account of the sheep or cattle on a farm. Under the persuasion, that whatever is done in the rocking of the moon, grows, and that whatever is done during her waning, decreases and withers, they cut the turf which they get for fences, and which of course they wish to grow, when the moon is on the increase; but the turf which they intend for fuel they cut when she is on the wane, as they wish it to dry speedily. If a house take fire during the the increase of the moon it denotes prosperity; if during the decrease, adversity. In the Island of Mull, the first day in every quarter is deemed fortunate; and Tuesday is the most lucky day for sowing their corn. The lucky omens in the Highlands are not many, and, in general, they are the same as in other countries: one, however, seems peculiar to them—it is unlucky to meet a horse.

We have now accompanied the sun in his passage over the circle of the year, and cannot but be struck by one prominent feature, which is, the intimate connexion between the customs of nations remote from each other, and indicative of their common origin. A writer in the American Quarterly Review has the following just and apposite reflections:—"In tracing nations to their particular sources (he says), the chief reliance has generally been placed upon etymology; but a close investigation of customs is of no less importance: in every such historical investigation they ought to go hand in hand. We have seen that most of our rites and superstitions are of Gothic origin; whilst others are as clearly Druidical, or Celtic; and both resemble those of the East, and especially of Persia. This is readily accounted for. Both Celts and Goths were originally Oriental.

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The Celts having emigrated at a much earlier period than the Goths, had probably fewer ceremonies; hence the paucity amongst us of Celtic superstitions.

"The religion of the Nomadic Goths was also, at first, we have but little doubt, comparatively simple: the great change in that of the Scandinavians being wrought by the arrival of Odin, who introduced amongst them the splendid mythology of the East, and subsequently received his own apotheosis. Other observances have reached us through a Grecian or Roman channel, but these, again, bear striking evidence of an Oriental origin. The mythology of Greece is unquestionably Oriental; and the Romans derived theirs from the Greeks. Hence many of our superstitions, nursery tales, &c. may have descended to us by various streams —originally along with our Celtic or Gothic ancestry, and subsequently by the route of more modern conquest—most unequivocally exhibiting, however, the like Oriental parentage.

"Lastly, the wide extent of superstition amongst us—superstition, too, in many cases, of the most idolatrous character, affords a humiliating subject of reflection; and it is a striking proof of the tyrannical influence of custom on the mind, that many, who have no faith in these observances, could not feel comfortable were they to neglect them. We recollect a naval officer, high in rank, smiling at the superstitions of the profession, and especially at the almost universal belief, that whistling on deck is capable of raising the wind, yet declaring, in the same breath, that he should not feel at ease were any one on deck to whistle in tempestuous weather—a better instance we could not give of the power of superstition:—

> "'Tis a history
> Handed from ages down; a nurse's tale
> Which children open-ey'd and mouth'd devour,
> And thus as garrulous ignorance relates,
> We learn it and believe."

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BOOK III.

ANCIENT KALENDARS.

M. DE VALOIS, at the end of his edition of Eusebius, has a dissertation on the Roman martyrology, in which he says that the church of Rome never had a peculiar martyrology before that of Sixtus V; and Baronius adds some corroborative remarks:—He supposes that the most celebrated churches have always had *Fasti*, in which the names of bishops and martyrs were written, and which, in course of time, received the title of kalendars. He agrees that the Roman church has had a particular kalendar of this kind, and that she had even an edition of it from Anvers; but he denies that these kalendars are true martyrologies, because the latter regard all churches, and are composed of several kalendars.*

The most antient kalendar, according to M. Baillet, is that of the church of Rome, composed towards the middle of the fourth century, under Pope Liberius—but, according to M. Chastelet, under Pope Julius, in 336. It contains the Pagan, as well as the Christian festivals, which were then very few in number.† Pinius says that it was used in the middle of the fourth century, or, at least, in the beginning of the fifth.‡

* Moreri, Dict. Hist. art: *Martyrologie*, p. 186.

† Published at Anvers, in 1634, by Ægidius Bucherius (Gilles Bouchier), in his Commentary on the Paschal Cycle.—*Dict. de Trevoux, art.* Calendrier.

‡ Tractat. de Antiqua Liturgia Hispan. p. 79. Antv. 1740.

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In the following century flourished St. Hieronymus, or Jerome, to whom a martyrology has been ascribed, that is supposed to have been imitated by the Saxon Bede, or, as he writes his own name, Beda; but, as martyrologies are little else than brief accounts of the persons whose names are found in them, and do not contain the chronological tables and indices contained in kalendars, which are, in fact, perpetual almanacs, they are not a subject of present consideration.

A kalendar was composed at Rome, in 448, by Polemeus Sylvius, who addressed it to St. Eucherius, bishop of Lyons. In this, as in some others preceding the seventh century, both the Christian and heathen festivals are inserted.

The next in regard to antiquity is the kalendar of Carthage, composed in 483, and discovered by Mabillon. The MS. is preserved in the abbey of St. Germaine de Près, at Paris. It commences with "xiii kal. Maias, martyris Mappalici," *i. e.* April 19, and it ends xiiii *kal. Mart.*, or Feb. 16.* Joh. Frontius published another, which Pinius considers the next in order of time. In the abbey of St. Germaine de Près there is a MS. of the seventh century, which seems, from the notice of it in the new edition of the *Encyclopedie Française*, to be a kalendar; and the following singular mode of computing the days and months of the year appears in the second page:—

"Dec. d. xxxj. k. iiij. non. viij. id. xviij. k. Januarias. Feb. in ka. xxxij. in id. xliiij."

This denotes that the month of December contains 31 days; from the kalends of December to the nones are 4 days; from the nones to the ides, 8; from the ides to the kalends of January, 18: that the year has 32 days to the kalends of February; 36 to the nones, and 44 to the ides. In this manner all the months and days of the year are calculated.†

* Vet. Analect. p. 163. Fol. Paris, 1723.

† Departm. *Antiquit.* tom. I, art. *Chiffre*, p. 241.

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The next known kalendar in the order of time appears to be that published by D'Achery, who regarded it as a composition of the year 826.* It is entitled thus—"Incipit Ordo Solaris Anni cum Litteris a S. Hieronymo superpositis, ad explorandum Septimanæ Diem, et Lunæ Ætatem investigandam in unoquoque Die per xix Annos." St. Jerome's application of the letters of the alphabet, which were afterwards superseded by the more simple and convenient indices called Golden Numbers, is found in other early kalendars, both with and without further assistance, except the corresponding tables for finding the moon's age. The vernal equinox is assigned to March 21, as fixed by the Nicene council of 325; and the kalendar is supposed to have belonged to the church of Arras.† This was followed by another, published by Pamelius, and again by Baluzius, after which Edmund Martene published a kalendar, which seems to belong to the ninth century.‡

Pinius considers that the characters of antiquity are paucity of announcements; simplicity, the names of martyrs alone being expressed; fewness of the Virgin's festivals; absence of feasts in Lent; rarity of more than the names of one or two saints, and omission of the title of saint.§ The dates of canonization, or of the institution of the festivals which occur in kalendars, will of course furnish criteria, by which we may be prevented from ascribing too great an age to a kalendar—as the absence of such festivals may, in many cases, enable us to state that a kalendar is earlier than some particular century. The tables of computation will also give other indications, because, where a series of years occurs, it is not to be imagined that the computist and copyer will have inserted the years which precede the composition, since these would be of no use to

* "Quod scriptum sive concinnatum fuisse anno 826 plusquam verisimile est."—*Spicil. Script. Veterum, tom.* X, *p.* 15. *Ed. 4to.*

† Dict. de Trevoux.

‡ Analect. tom. V, col, 68.

§ *Ut suprà.*

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the purposes of the church for which the kalendar is intended.

Saxon Kalendars.

There are extant in our public libraries many kalendars in Saxon characters, which cannot be much less in age than nine centuries. Such is certainly the menology presented by Bishop Leofric to the church of Exeter, after the reign of Alfred. From this MS.,* which is in the vernacular language of the country (the remaining kalendars being in Latin), Dr. Hickes has published extracts, in order, as he says, that the learned reader may know what male and female saints were commemorated with particular devotion by our ancestors.† As this menology does not contain the festival of St. Swithun, who died in 861,‡ and who was held in much esteem among the Saxons, it is not very improbable that the composition is nearly as ancient as the kalendar of Arras.

In the Bodleian library is preserved a beautifully-written kalendar, in 4to, but much mutilated, in which the obits of Gildas, King Alfred, and other illustrious persons are inserted—a lunar table, and various ecclesiastical computa-

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* Bibl. Cott. MSS. Julius, A X. As this is a curious codex, the reader who is inclined to consult it may save himself some trouble, by observing the following directions, the binder having transposed the leaves, and rendered it apparently more imperfect than it is in reality:—

After Jan. 25 and March 13 there are many leaves lost, as remarked by Dr. Hickes.

From fo. 95, b (bi& ꝛeo ti&), read the continuation, ꝑ eꝑꝛtep ꝑo&, &c. at fo. 104, as far as the end of fo. 111, b.: return to fo. 96, and read to fo. 119, b. Here the leaves are lost, containing the subjects of the interval between June 24 and July 1 inclusive. The continuation is found at fo. 12, b, as far as the &ꝑopunꝝ ꝛci tꝛanqvillum; and again at fo. 122. After July 15, turn back to fo. 120. After July 19, the leaves from July 20 to to 29 are wanting. The MS. begins again at fo. 130, and is uninterrupted to the last folium, where a considerable deficiency appears.

† Thesaur. tom. II, p. 185-6.

‡ Chron. Saxon. ad Ann. "vi non. Julii." *Flor. Wigorn. ad ann.* The life of this saint was written in Saxon by Ælfric (*Cott. MS. Julius, E* VII, *fo.* 94, *b*, 101), who takes no notice of the tradition (*suprà*, B. II, p. 320), or the superstition connected with it, respecting his day.

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tions, also occur.* This MS. is supposed to belong to the age of King Athelstan, who died in 940. Another Saxon kalendar in this library also deserves to be noticed: like the last, it contains the obits of princes, bishops, and men of rank and distinction, and, among the rest, that of Wulfstan, Bishop of Winchester. It has a table of Dominical years, indictions, and epacts, from 1063 to 1119,† whence we may conclude, in the absence of other proofs, that it belongs to the middle of the 11th century, and was probably composed before the Norman advent.

Dano-Saxon Poetical Menology.

The most elegant kalendar, or rather menology, that has survived the destruction of Saxon literature, is beyond all question the "Calendarium, seu Menologium Poeticum," in the Cotton library. It is composed in Dano-Saxon, and consists of 456 verses; but Dr. Hickes, by printing in several instances two verses as one, makes it only 448.‡ To these he has added a second poem, as a continuation of the kalendar, although an inspection of the MS. itself, as well as the total want of connexion between the subjects, makes it clearly evident that they are quite distinct. A former possessor of this codex has written before the first line—"Cronica Saxonica Abbingdoniæ, ad annum 1066;" but the poem is as little connected with the Abbingdon Chronicle as it is with the translation of Orosius, by which it is preceded. With respect to its age, Dr. Hickes remarks that, as it does not contain the festival of either St. Edward or St. Dunstan, which were both directed by a law of Canute to be celebrated throughout the English nation, it is certainly earlier than the year 988.§

King Athelstan's Kalendar.

A metrical kalendar (Galba, A XVIII) in very ancient Saxon characters, prefixed to a small 4to psalter which had belonged to king Athelstan, part of whose name is yet to

* Junius, 27. Hickes, ibid. p. 76.

† Junius, 99, Hickes, ib. p. 26.

‡ Hickes, tom. I, p. 203.

§ Ib. p. 221, not. The Codex is marked *Tiberius, B.* I, and extends from fo. 110 to fo. 112 b, both inclusive.

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be read beneath the painting which forms the frontispiece, has wholly escaped the notice of Dr. Hickes, though it is one of the most curious of the Saxon relics in the Cotton library. A former proprietor (perhaps Sir Robert Cotton) conjectures, from a rule in the *Computus* for finding the year of the Incarnation, that it was written in the year 703.* With some little reluctance I add two centuries to this date. In the first place, the words of the rule "ut puta in præsenti fiunt DCCIII," on which the opinion is grounded, may prove that the rule itself was written in that year, but do not affect the codex, unless it could be shewn that it was written at the same time. In the next place, the rule is found verbatim, and almost literatim, in the Computus of the MS. Julius, A VI, as may be seen on perusal.

"Argumentum ad inveniendum quotus sit annus Incarnationis Domini."

(GALBA.)

"Si nosse uis quot anni sint ab incarnatione Domini. scito quot fuerunt ordines indictionum. vt pvta. v. anno Tyberii Cæseris. XLVI. hos per. XV. multiplica. fiunt. DCXC. adde semper regulares. xii. quia. IIII. indictionum secundum Dionissum Dominus natus est. indictionem quoque eujus volueris. vt puta in presenti I. fiunt. DCCIII. isti sunt anno natiuitatis Domini."—*Fo.* 16, *b.*

(JULIUS.)

"Si uis nosse quot anni sint ab incarnatione Domini. scito quot fuerint ordines indictionum. utpote quinto anno Tiberii principis. XLVI. hos per XV multiplica. fiunt DCXC. adde semper regulares XII quia quarta indictionum secundum Dionisum natus est dominus. et indictionem anni cujusque uolueris utpote in presenti unam. fiunt DCCIII. isti sunt anni incarnationis domini."—*Fo.* 13.

Both are copies of a rule written by Beda, to whose age neither codex belongs. Dr. Hickes notices this date of 703 in *Julius*, and remarks that there is another table *(fo.* 8*)*, which seems to give it to the year 969.† Then, with res-

* "Calendarium vetustissimum literis Saxonicis cum ciclis Ecclesiasticis, scriptum fuit An° 703 vt apparet in Codice.—Lib. Psalmorum cum notis obelis et asteriscis. Preces tempore Saxonic. Liber fuit Æthelstani Regis. Fragmentum Litaniæ Græcum."—*Fo. ante frontem Codicis.*

† "Annos enim a nativitate Christi tantum 703 numerat hic tractatus;

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pect to the kalendars themselves, they are both copies of another, which I have not been able to find, and of which a third copy seems to exist in the Codex Tiberius, B V, with slight variations from the two preceding, which vary between themselves.

Even if the rule could be found in *Galba* only, the kalendar itself would give it a contradiction, for it contains the day of King Alfred, who died in 901 :—

" VII *Kal. Octob.*] Aelfred rex obiit septenis et quoque amandus."

This line appears in Tiberius with only literal differences—

" Ælfred rex obiit septenis et quoque Amandus;"

but in *Julius* we read—

" Maximianus obit septenis et quoque amandus."

Wherever Galba and Tiberius have a Saxon saint, a Greek or Roman name appears in *Julius*, which, though a copy of a kalendar more ancient than the Saxon saints of Galba and Tiberius, must, as a book, yield in antiquity to Galba.

As to the age of *Tiberius*, it contains at *fo.* 8 a table of dominical years, beginning like the others at 969, and ending at 1006, whence it might be inferred that it was also written 969; but the characters are Normanno-Saxon—and there are other circumstances which refuse the codex an antiquity equal to either of the others. It is a beautiful MS., splendidly ornamented with paintings of no mean design or execution, for its age, which seems to be that of the Norman invasion. Dr. Hickes describes it, but is silent on this subject.*

The MS. Galba has suffered by age; several lines which had been written in red ink have faded from the parchment. The black ink in other parts has also vanished, and rendered them sometimes obscure—sometimes illegible. From this

cum ex altera tabula hunc tractatum anno 969 scriptum liquet."—*Thesaur. tom.* II, *p.* 183.

* Ibid. p. 215.

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BOOK III.

cause, the Roman notation of the days of the month, the golden numbers, and two or three alphabets for ecclesiastical computations, cannot be read. The dominical letters, which in the others are those in ordinary use, that is, the seven first letters of the alphabet, are, in this kalendar, taken from the word Angelus.

Several verses which have been destroyed by the assaults of time, are supplied by others in Italics, which are copied from Tiberius, there being more points of concordance between Galba and Tiberius, than between Galba and Julius. The numerous offences against orthography, syntax and prosody, which are to be found in the three MSS. are retained; for to correct them, would be to destroy the identity of the copy with the original, and, at the same time, disappoint those who may deem the errors a literary curiosity. The different readings are placed in the margin at the foot of the page, with the initial *T* or *J*, so that on the whole, the body being that of Galba, it may be considered a copy of the three kalendars. As to the golden numbers, and ancient and modern notation of the days, there needs neither explanation nor apology for inserting them.

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JANUARIUS habet Dies XXXI. Luna XXX.—*T.*

				Incipit hic Ianus cui traditur astrea capra. Soluagus rutulans ter denis asse diebus. Lunaticis denis discurrens terque diebus. Adonios vocitat Graius Ebriusque Thebethque.	*Soliuagus.* J. *Tridenis.* J. *Lunatricis.* J.
1	III	A	KL. PIAN.	*Fiant iure calendarum sanctus coneiditur agnus.* T.	
2		n	IIII n.	Isidorus hic nonis gavdet in ordine quadris.	*Isiodorus.* J.
3	XI	g	III n.	Sancta Genouefa trinis in sanguine fulget.	*Genofeua.* J.
4		e	II n.	Profulgent pridias ageus Gageusque secundus.	
5	XVIIII	l	NON.	Et Symon sequitvr nonarvm in uertice uatem.*	
6	VIII	u	VIII id.	*Octauus idus Cristus Baptismate splendeat.*† T.	Sic.
7		s	VII id.	Presbiter egregius Lucianus possidet arcem.‡	
8	XVI	A	VI id.	En meritis rutulat Timotheus in uertice cœli.	
9	V	n	V id.	Alta Secundini quinis conscenderet almus.	*Secundinus.* J. *Secundum.* T.
10		g	IIII id.	Pausat humi Paulus felix iam accola quadris.§	
11	XIII	e	III id.	Nemphiticis dominus deducitur arvis.	*Memphiticis.* J.
12	II	l	II id.	Pridie Felicis translatio conspicit astrvm.	
13		u	IDUS	Idibus Ilarius conscendit culmina cosmi.	*Hilarius.* J.
14	X	s	XVIIII kl.	Furse ast denis nouenis atque kalendis.‖	*Furseus.* T.
15		A	XVIII kl.	Remigius sanctus Xro cvm regnat in euum.¶	
16	XVIII	n	XVII kl.	Marcellus pastor[a] transiuit limina mortis.	[a]*Papa.* J.
17	VII	g	XVI kl.	Vi[b] decimis uehitur Antonius rite kalendis.	[b]*Sex.* J.

* At Simeon nonarum in uertice uates. *J.*
† Octauas colitur Epiphania Christi. *J.*
‡ Presbiteri egregius Lucanis possidet arcus. *J.*
§ Pausat humi Paulus iam felix, &c. *J.*
Deserti quartas primus capit accola Paulus. *T.*
‖ Jam nonis denis Felix intrauit in aulam. *J.*
¶ Abaccuc sequitur sanctus uerusque propheta.. *J.*

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18		e	xv kl.	*Terquinis Februi ueneratur Prisca kalendis.** T.	
19	xv	l	xiiii kl.	Martha Maria simul flores contecuere.†	
20	iiii	u	xiii kl.	Hic Sabastianus cælestia regna reuisit.	
21		s	xii kl.	Agna tenet meritis bis senas casta kalendis.‡	
22	xii	A	xi kl.	Martir Anastassius vndenis denique kalendis.	*Anastasius.* T.
23	i	n	x kl.	Concordans denis Aquila Seuerusque kalendis.	
24		g	viiii kl.	Tres Pueri retenent nouenas iure kalendas.	
25	viiii	e	viii kl.	Octauis fulget conuersio sancti Pauli.§	
26		l	vii kl.	Septenis lucet Policarpus arbiter equus.	
27	xvii	u	vi kl.	Vendicat has senas Julianus rite kalendas.	
28	vi	s	v kl.	Tv quoque uirgo pia quinis lætaberis Agna.	
29		A	iiii kl.	Valerius quadris miratur limen olimpi.‖	*Olimphi.* J.
30	xiiii	n	iii kl.	Sortitur ternas Flauianus nomine martyr.	
31	iii	g	ii kl.	Ast Iani fines sigat Æd famina ferna.¶	

* * * ‖‖

Principium Iani sancit tropicus capricornus.
Per huc signifero caprieornus ridere pergit.
Primus Romanus ordinis Iane Kalendas

* Quindecimis intrat in Piscem sol sidus aquarum. *J.*

† Martha Maria simul florescunt lege diurna. *T.*
Quardecimis mun. Martha Maria dalaziathel. *J.*

‡ Magna tenet meritis bissenas kara kalendas. *T.*

§ Octauus fulget sancti conuersio Pauli. *T. & J.*

‖ Bis binis Gildas meruit pausare kare kalendis. *T.*

¶ The same unintelligible verse is in Tiberius: in Julius we have—
Ast Iani finis uictorem portat ab imis.

‖‖ A line totally obliterated; but it is probably—
Nox horarum, XVI. Dies horarum, VIII.

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FEBR. habet Dies XX [VIII. Luna Dies XX] VIIII.

Demedium retenet Februi. iam sidus aquarii.
Eminet at numero bis denis octo diebus.
Luna frequens fertur Februi simul inde trigenis.
Quaternis nonis denis sextisque kalendis.
Euocitant Ebrii Græcique per *tios.

Unde. J.

1		e	KL. FEB.	*Gloria Scottorum Brigida sortita kalendas.* T.
2	XI	l	IIII n.	Et[c] quadris Xps templo deducitur archus.
3	XVIIII	u	III n.	Trinis iam nonis Laurentius eminet altus.
4	VIII	s	II n.	Pridie pausauit meritis et nomine Magnus.
5		A	NON.	Nonas sacra Agatha format in uertice uirgo.
6	XVI	n	VIII id.	Idibus octauis commouit claustra Vedastus.
7	V	g	VII id.	Incipiunt ueris exordia tempore prisco.
8		e	VI id.	Primitus incepit ieiunandi tempus adortum.
9	XIII	l	V id.	Hic quoque Alexander quinis iam secula reliquit.
10	II	u	IIII id.	Troianum dominus quadris deduxit ad astra.
11		s	III id.	Avstraberta pia ternas dimiserat idus.*
12	X	A	II id.	Pridie Danua uirgo Cartagine pausat.
13		n	IDUS.	Idus ouat sancta Iulianus morte redemptus.
14	XVIII	g	XVI kl.	Rite Valentinus sex denis sorte kalendis.
15	VII	e	XV kl.	*Pisciculis Phœbus reclusus tabulus ater.*† T.
16		l	XIIII kl.	Denis in quadris Iuliana refertur ab imis.
17	XV	u	XIII kl.	Tres decimis felix Fintan[d] migrauit ad aulam.
18	IIII	s	XII kl.	Clemens Siluanus duodenis scandit ad astra.
19		A	XI kl.	Vndenas retenet Iulianus moribus aptus.
20	XII	n	X kl.	Denis dormiuit finita carne Calistus.‡

[c] *En.* J.

[d] *Crissantus.* J.

* Perpetua at casta ternas pausauerat idus. *J.*

† Pisculiss Phœphus reclusus tabulus ater. *J.*

‡ Dormit iam denis finita morte Calestus. *J.*

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21	I	g	VIIII kl.	Seruulus ast nonis celvm conscendere nisvs.*
22		e	VIII kl.	Verontus uetus in bis quadris sede statuta.†
23	VIIII	l	VII kl.	Atque Serenatus septenis septa resolvit.
24		u	VI kl.	Quadrantvm sedes Mathiano congruit almo.
25	XVII	s	V kl.	Atque capit quinis dixere repertum.‡
26	VI	A	IIII kl.	Comganus meritis transiuit Tartara quadris.§
27		n	III kl.	Sacriferi caput in trinis ostenditur aruis.‖
28	XIIII	g	II kl.	Terminat hic Februus cum talia fine perfacta.¶

Nox Hor. XIIII. Dies Hor. X.

Vota do diti Februa mensis habet.
Mense numæ in medio soli distat sidus aquarii.

Memento quod anno bissextili lunæ Februarii XXX dies computas, ut tamen luna Martii XXX dies habeat sicut semper habet ne paschalis lunæ ratio uacillet.

* Serulus at clemens conscendere nisus. *J.*

† Ver oritur aërum bis quadris sorte statuta. *J.*

‡ The last word is omitted in Julius.

§ —estorius meritis, &c. *J.* The initial is omitted, but the name is probably Nestorius.

‖ Sacriferumque caput, &c. *J.*

¶ Germinat hic Februus cælebris cum nomine sancto. *J.*

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MARTIUS habet Dies XXXI. Luna, XXX.

	Dupliciter rutulat piscis in tempore Martis.				
	Terdenis nouus procedit et asse dierum.*				*Diebus.* J.
	Bellipotens retenet lvna triginta dierum.				*Lunam.* J.
	Sex nonis radiat denis septemque kalendis.				
	Ebrus Adar Martivm Græcus et nomine distrios.				
1	III	e	KL. MAR.	*Egifer ac Largius Martis queritque kalendas.** T	
2		l	VI n.	Sextis in nonis dormiuerat accula Paulus.	
3	XI	u	V n.	Viri ferunt quinis tempus procedit ab antris.†	
4		s	IIII n.	Octeenti quadris Adriano milite fulgent.	
5	XVIIII	A	III n.	Septima Emblesmus procedit tempore terno.	
6	VIII	n	II n.	Tertius Embolesmus pridiis incenditur almis.	
7		g	NON.	Perpetua magna nonis inuecta migrauit.	*Inuicta.* T.
8	XVI	e	VIII id.	Idibus octauis Paschalis Luna refulget.	
9	V	l	VII id.	Milia dena quater septidus Passio temptat.	
10		u	VI id.	Constantinus ouans senis prostauit olimpum.	
11	XIIII	s	V id.	Hic quoque Alexander quinis honoratur ab oris.	
12	II	A	IIII id.	Quadris pausauit iam rite Gregorius almus.	
13		n	III id.	Idibus in trinis colimusque et festa Medonis.	*In ternis.* J.
14	X	g	II id.	Hic oritur ferum tempus Quadraginta Dierum.	*Serum.* J.
15		e	IDUS.	Idibus ast Lucas Iacobus sorte retentent.	*Retendant.* J.
16	XVIII	l	XVII kl.	Septdecimis martvr Cyriacus Tartara tempsit.	
17	VII	u	XVI kl.	Patricius pausat Scottorum gloria consors.	
18		s	XV kl.	Quind*ecimis Aries lustratur lumine solis.* T.	

* Legifer ac Largus * * *J.*

† Veriferum quinis tempus procedit ab antris. *J.*

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19	xv	A	xiiii kl.	Gregorius fulget denis quadrisque kalendis.	
20	iiii	n	xiii kl.	Tresdecimis sanctus Cudberhtus scandit ad altum.	
21		g	xii kl.	Equas umbra diem duodenis et Benedictus.	*Equat.* J.
22	xii	A	xi kl.	Vndenis rutulant lunares tempore epacte.	
23	i	n	x kl.	Felix lætatur conscendens æthera denis.	
24		g	viiii kl.	Soliua feriæ concurrens nona kalendis.	*Solinaga.* T.
25	viiii	e	viii kl.	Octauis dominum Virgo conceperat alma.*	
26		l	vii kl.	Montanus[f] meruit septenis sorbere mortem.	[f]*Jacobus.* J.
27	xvii	u	vi kl.	Senis surrexit Dominus tellure kalendis.	
28	vi	s	v kl.	Exultat Maria quinis comtaque kalendis.†	
29		A	iiii kl.	Possidet et pastor quadras Victorque kalendas.	
30	xiiii	n	iii kl.	Trinis Eulalia cælum penituerat altum.	*Almum.* T.
31	iii		ii kl.	Terminat ac meritis Romanus nomine Martem.	

* * *

Incipe Mars anni felicia fata reduci.
Procedunt duplices in Martii tempore pisces.
Nox hor. XII. *habet.* *Dies vero* XII. T. & J.

* At the end of this verse—EQVINOCTIUM. *J.*
† Audactus quinis celum lætatur habere. *J.*
‡ Trinis Eulalia clemens, &c. *J.*

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APRELIS habet Dies XXX. *Luna,* XXVIIII. T.

Tv quoque digneris Aries conspicere Aprilem.
Ter denis rutulat mensis idemque diebus.
Lucida bis denis lunas nonisque diebus.
Nonis rite quadris octoque decemque kalendas.*
Ebruus æquiuocat Nisan Xanticos Graiusque.

Luna. J.

1		s	KL. APRL.	Possidet *Aprilis Walericum iure kalendas.*† T.
2	XI	A	IIII n.	Nonis in quadris capit pausare Nicetus. *Nicoetus.* T.
3		n	III n.	Trinas casta capit nonas Theodosia uirgo.
4	XVIIII	g	II n.	Pridie lætatur Ambrosius archus et auctor.
5	VIII	e	NON.	Vltima Paschalis nonis Incensio splendet.
6	XVI	l	VIII id.	Idibus octauis Theodorus sidera sensit.
7	V	u	VII id.	Septenis meruit Eufemia scandere arcos.[e] [e]*Circos.* J.
8		s	VI id.	Macharius mirus profulsit sidere senis.
9	XIII	A	V id.	Quadratus quinis pausat septemque Puellæ.
10	II	n	IIII id.	Demetrius quartus[f] Marcellus et idibus æquant. [f]*Quadris.* J.
11		g	III id.	Idibus in ternis pastorque Leo quieuit.‡
12	X	e	II id.	Pridie diluuium terras obtexerat altas.
13		l	IDUS.	Idibus en sanctis Aufemia tollitur aulis. *Eufemia.* J.
14	XVIII	u	XVIII kl.	Et iureque Tibertius octo decimque kalendis.
15	VII	s	XVII kl.	Septenis colimus Felicem iamque carissam. *Septdecimis.* J.
16		A	XVI kl.	Haustus en micuit sex denis atque Paternus.§
17	XV	n	XV kl.	*Aureus et fundit sol ardens corpora Tauri.* T. *Exfundit.* J.
18	IIII	g	XIIII kl.	Quarta decima Paschæ finit hic tempora tarda.
19		e	XIII kl.	Tridenis rutulat Rufini passio sancta. *Ruphini.* J.
20	XII	l	XII kl.	Europæ sanctorum festa duodenis.

* Nonis quadris octo, &c. *J.*
† Imenieque decus sapiens hic iure Paternus. *J.*
‡ Idibus in ternis Leoque iam pastor quieuit. *J.*
§ Faustinus en micuit sex denis atque Paternus. *J.*

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21	I	u	XI kl.	Cæsarius sanctus vndenis denique dormit *	
22		s	X kl.	Gaigus ac denis Romæ requieuerat archus.	*Gaius.* T.
23	VIIII	A	VIIII kl.	Cœliculis nonis ast itque Georgius almus.	*Cœliocis.* J. *Idque.* T.
24		n	VIII kl.	Octauis Pueri tres cantant carmina Christo.†	
25	XVII	g	VII kl.	Vltima procedunt Paschalia tempora VII$^{um.}$ g	‖*Septim.* J.
26	VI	e	VI kl.	Fulget ouans senis Cletus Felixque kalendis.	
27		l	V kl.	Quinis dormiuit Victor per secula sanctus.‡	
28	XIIII	u	IIII kl.	Vitalis quadris cœlvm superauerat equus.§	
29	III	s	III kl.	Claruit et trinis Maxentius arbiter almus.	
30		A	II kl.	Pridie transfertur arca densissima ab undis.	

Tunc aries Ueneri linea sacra legit.
Noctiferum Aprilem uendicat alma Uenus.
Respicis Aprilis aries frixee[h] kalendas. [h]*Erixet.*
Nox hor. habet X. Dies, hor. XIIII.

* Cessarius sanctus vndenis de inde kalendis. *J.*
† Octauis sursum Theonis presbiter intrat. *J.*
‡ Germanus quinis aut imus hermitis æquus. *J.*
§ Vitalis quadris clemens seruauerat æquus. *J.*

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MAIAS habet Dies XXXI. *Luna,* XXX. T.

Maius equus contempsit ovans tergora tauri.*
Qui colitur splendens ter denis asse diebus.
Possidet ac luna iam[1] sorte triginta dierum.
Nonis et senis septemque decemque kalendis.

[1] *In.* J.

1	XI	n	KL. MAI.	*Jacobus meruit Philippusque micare kalendis.* T.	
2		g	VI n.	*Concipitur uirgo Maria cognomine senis.* T.	*Commine.* J.
3	XVIIII	e	V n.	Nonis in quinis gavdet inuentio ligni.	
4	VIII	l	IIII n.	Martyrio quadris fulsit Antonia alta.†	
5		u	III n.	Trinis en dominus cœlos conscendit ad altos.	
6	XVI	s	II n.	Pridie consecrat Iohannis numine Portam.	*Nomine.* T.
7	V	A	NON.	Augustinus ouans nonis contempserat orcum.	
8		n	VIII id.	Idibus octauis Michael archangelus ortus.	
9	XIII	g	VII id.	Incipit æstiuum septenis idibus ortum.‡	
10	II	e	VI id.	Gordianus senis cœlum penebrauerat eque.	
11		l	V id.	Dormiuit quinis Mamertus nomine sanctus.	
12	X	u	IIII id.	Pancratius meritis conscenderat æthera magnis.	
13		s	III id.	Profulget Maria ternis ex idibus iasons.	
14	XVIII	A	II id.	*Pridie Simplicius radiati munere vitæ.*§ T.	
15	VII	n	IDUS.	Idibus inluxit sanctis en gratia primo.	*Influxit.* T.
16		g	XVII kl.	Sepdecimis pausat Florentius ac Peregrinus.	
17		e	XVI kl.	Parthinus fulsit denis sextisque kalendis.	*Martinus.* J.
18		l	XV kl.	Quindecimis Geminos ardens sol aureus intrat.‖	

* Maius equus ovans contempnit tergora tauri. *J.*
† Martyrio quadris fulsit Artonina et alta. *J.*
‡ Incipit æstiuus septenis idibus æstus. Estis initium hab. dies XCI. *J.*
§ Pridie Simplicius lustratur æthera pennis. *J.*
‖ Quindecimis Geminos ardens sol aureis intrat. *T.*
Quindecimis Geminos sol aureus intrant. *J.*

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19	u	XIIII kl.	Bis septem retenent Gerbassius atque Protasius.	*Gervasius.* J & T
20	s	XIII kl.	Tres decimis uirgo quesiuit regna Basilla.	*Terdecimis.* J.
21	A	XII kl.	Bis senis radiat [*Matheus,* T.] lucetque kalendis.*	
22	n	XI kl.	Undenis Gemina uirgo feliciter iuit.†	
23	g	X kl.	Iulianus colitur denis ipseque kalendis.‡	
24	e	VIIII kl.	Æstas hic oritur ardens nonisque kalendis.	
25	l	VIII kl.	Vrbanus pastor pausauerat octo kalendis.	
26	u	VII kl.	Atque Augustinus septenis quæ fuerat archus.§	
27	s	VI kl.	Terrigena ingreditur arca de uertice fontis.	
28	A	V kl.	Quinis Germanus sanctusque piusque magister.	
29	n	IIII kl.	Maximianus ageus quærit cœlestia quadris.	
30	g	III kl.	Atque Saturninus trinis prostravit olimpum.	
31	e	II kl.	Tv Petronella pia finis discrimine mensem.[k]	[k] *Fini.* J.

* * *

*aus ageneroi miratur cornua tauri.‖
Maior dictus patrvm de nomine Maius.

Nox hor. habet VIII. Dies hor. XVI.

* Bis senis radiat Timotheus, &c. *J.*
† Vndenis felix Maxsensius Tartara tempsit. *J.*
‡ Julianus colitur denis tunc ipse kalendis. *J.*
§ At Augustinus septenis quieuerat archus. *J.*
‖ Maia genero vi miratur cornua tauri. *T.*

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IUNIUS habet dies XXX. Luna, XXVIIII.

Iunius et geminis concordat tempore tardis.
Solibus radiat ter denis atque corruscat.*
Continet et Luna ter denis asse relicta.
Emicat in quadris denis atque kalendis.

1		l	KL. IUN.	*Tutela consecrans uirgo sanctaque kalendas.* T.	*Consecras.* J.
2	XVIIII	u	IIII n.	En quadris colitur Marcellinusque Petrusque.	
3	VIII	s	III n.	Cetibus angelicis Coenigen sociatur in archis.	*Coetibus.* T. *Comigen.* J.
4	XVI	A	II n.	Ante diem certum nonarum tectus Apollo.	
5	V	n	NON.	Hic prepides temptant auida concludera rostra.	
6		g	VIII id.	Idibus octauis cœlestia Amantius optat.	
7	XIIII	e	VII id.	Possidet ast idus[l] septenas ordine Paulus.	[l]*Itius.* J.
8	II	l	VI id.	Senis iam merito Marcus inuiserat orbem.	
9		u	V id.	Idibus in quinis celebramus festa Columbæ.†	
10	X	s	IIII id.	Inque suis quadris Barnabam idibus æquat.	
11		A	III id.	Trinis migrauit Mactail in culmina cœli.	
12	XVIII	n	II id.	Basilidisque pius pridias inuixerat orbi.‡	
13	VII	g	IDUS.	Hic dies finit donorum limina longa.§	
14		e	XVIII kl.	Bis nonas rite Anianus rite kalendas.‖	
15	XV	l	XVII kl.	Martyrio Uitus septenis regna petiuit.	
16	IIII	u	XVI kl.	Cum sociis martyr pausat Cyriacus in œuum.	
17		s	XV kl.	*Quindecimis scandit Phebus in culmina cancri.*[m] T.	[m]*Celi.* J.
18	XII	A	XIIII kl.	Bis septem Marcus Marcellianusque kalendis.	

* Solibus hic radiat ter denis asse relicto. *J.*
† Feliciani nunc primi iam festa coluntur. *J.*
‡ Bassilidisque pius pridias illuxerat orbi. *J.*
§ Hicque dies finit, &c. *J.*
‖ His nonis iustus Anianus rite kalendis. *J.*

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19	I	n	XIII kl.	Gerbassius *socium denis ternisque sequtus.** T.	*Gervasius.* T.
20		g	XII kl.	Solstitium sequitur bis senis atque kalendis.	
21	VIIII	e	XI kl.	Undenis uidit Eusebius hic arbiter alta.	
22		l	X kl.	Iacobus colitur denis sanctusque kalendis.	
23	XVII	u	VIIII kl.	Nonis inuigelant populi plebesque kalendis.	
24	VI	s	VIII kl.	Octauis colitur Iohannis rite kalendis.†	
25		A	VII kl.	Septenis fulget sancta iam Lucia uirgo.	*Sanctis.* J.
26	XIIII	n	VI kl.	Iohannis senis rutulant Paulusque kalendis.	
27	III	g	V kl.	Ecce celebramus fratrum natalia quinis.	
28		e	IIII kl.	Inuigelant populi quadrisque Leoque repausat.	
29	XI	l	III kl.	In ternis gaudent Petrus Paulusque kalendis.	
30		u	II kl.	Marcialus retenet pridias idemque kalendas.	*Marcialis.* T.

Arte poli geminos Iunius ecce locat.
Iunius æstatis proximus est titulus.
Iunius æquatos cœlo uidet ire laconas.
Nox hor. habet VI. Dies hor. XVIII.

* Geruasus socium denis nunc terque secutus. *J.*

† At the end of this line—SOLSTITIUM. *J.*

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IULIUS habet Dies XXXI. Luna, XXX.

				Iulius æquiuocat artis tempore cancrum. Qui magis elucet ter denis atque diebus. Luniacis giris ter denis rite coruscat. Nonis ac sextis septem denisque kalendis.*	*Asse.* *Luniuagus.* J.
1	XVIIII	s	KL. AUG.	Gaius et Uictor gaudent iam sorte kalendæ.	
2	VIII	A	VI n.	Marcianus nonis in senis atque Processus.	
3		n	V n.	Qvinis narratur Tomæ translatio sancta.	*Thomeæ.* J.
4	XVI	g	IIII n.	Transfertur quadris Martinus et ordine comptus.	
5	V	e	III n.	Trinis in nonis transfertur corpus Agathæ.†	
6		l	II n.	Octauas colimus pridias ex ordine nonas.	
7	XIII	u	NON.	Nonarumque die Mælruen conscendit in æthram.	
8	II	s	VIII id.	Cæsareæ patitur Procobus idibus octo.‡	
9		A	VII id.	Septenas retenet Faustinus nomine sanctus.§	
10	X	n	VI id.	Idibus in senis fratrum iam passio septem.	
11		g	V id.	Quinis transfertur Benedictus nomine sanctus.	
12	XVIII	e	IIII id.	Idibus in quadris Agatha iam fulserat orbi.‖	
13	VII	l	III id.	Idibus emicuit sanctusque Seraphio trinis.¶	*Serapio.* T.
14		u	II id.	Idus per pridias Iustus deponitur almus.	*Idibus.* J.
15	XV	s	IDUS.	Idibus exiuit Florentius[a] arbiter aruis.	[a]*Phyllippus.* J.
16	IIII	A	XVII kl.	Atque Ualentinus denis septemque kalendis.**	

* Nonis ac senis septim denisque kalendis. *J.*
† Ternis transfertur in nonis, &c. *J.*
‡ Astratus patitur Eraclius idibus octo. *J.*
§ Septenas patitur Cenonis nomine sanctus. *J.*
‖ Idibus in quadris Felicis Naboris æque. *J.*
¶ Idibus emicuit sanctus Serapionis trinis. *J.*
** Atque Hilarius sanctus septimque kalendis. *J.*

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17		n	XVI kl.	Christina fulgens denis sextisque kalendis.	*Christiana.* J.
18	XII	g	XV kl.	*Quindecimis scandit sol ardens terga leonis.* T.	
19	I	e	XIIII kl.	Denis et quadris Arsenus et Rusticus æquant.*	
20		l	XIII kl.	Tresdecimis ausit UUlmarus pocula uitæ.†	
21	VIIII	u	XII kl.	Bis senis virgo pausauit Praxidis alma.	
22		s	XI kl.	Vndecimis Maria transiuit limina mortis.	
23	XVII	A	X kl.	Rite Apolonaris sanctus denisque kalendis.	*Apollonarius.* J.
24	VI	n	VIIII kl.	Victor ouat nonis sanctis fortis milesque kalendis.‡	
25		g	VIII kl.	Iacobus octo domini fraterque kalendis.	*Octauis.* J.
26	XIIII	e	VII kl.	Felix et Heliane° Saturnineque repausas.§	°*Iuliane.* T.
27	III	l	VI kl.	At Simeon senis dormit pausatque kalendis.‖	
28		u	V kl.	Armonicus pastor Samson quinisque kalendis.	
29	XI	s	IIII kl.	Faustinus et Felix Simpliciusque Beatrix.	
30	XVIIII	A	III kl.	Consecrauit ternas Abdo Sennesque kalendas.	*Consecrat.* T.
31		n	II kl.	Germanus meruit pridias gaudere kalendas.	

Iulius ardenti diuertit lumina soli.
Solstitivm ardentis cancri fert Iulius astra. *Solstitio.* J. *Austrum.* T.
Nomine Cesareo Quintilem Iulius auget.

Nox horarum, VIII. Dies horarum, XVI.

* Quartdecimis colitur sancti Cinni passio sancta. *J.*

† Tresdecimis hausit Ulmarus pocula uitæ. *J.*

‡ Victor ouans nonis fortis milesque kalendis. *J.*

In Tiberius this line is omitted, in consequence of which, the subsequent verses do not correspond to the ordinal numbers.

§ Felix septenis Siluanus inueniamus. *J.*

‖ Iohannis senis rutilant Paulusque kalendis. *J.*

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AUGS habet Dies XXXI. Luna, XXVIIII.

Feruidus Augustus leo torrens igne perurit.
Possidet et soles ter denos et simul unum.
Bis denis rutulat luna nonisque diebus.
Nonis et quadris denis nonisque kalendis.

1	VIII	g	KL. AUG.	Machabeis *merito traduntur sepe kalendæ.* T.	
2	XVI	e	IIII n.	Nonis in quadris Stefanus preuiderat alta.	*Stephanus.* T.
3	V	l	III n.	Trinis iam Stephani patvit inuentio sanota.	
4		u	II n.	Augustas pridias colimus natalia Iusti.	*Justin.* J.
5	XIIII	s	NON.	Oswaldum regem nonis celebramus in euum.*	
6	II	A	VIII id.	Idibus octauis Xixtus celebratur in orbe.	*Sixtus.* T. *Syxtus.* J.
7		n	VII id.	Autumnus oritur septenis idibus eque.	
8	X	g	VI id.	Martyrio fulget senis Ciriacus in archis.	
9		e	V id.	Marcellinus ouans quinis conscendit olimpvm.	
10	XVIII	l	IIII id.	Idibus in quadris martyr Laurentius arsit.	
11	VII	u	III id.	Idibus in trinis cœlosque Tiburtius ambit.	
12		s	II id.	Eupolius pridias cœlum penetrauerat idus.	
13	XV	A	IDUS.	Idibus Ypolitus profulsit carne solutus.†	
14	III	n	XVIIII kl.	Nonis et denis Eusebius ipse kalendis.	
15		g	XVIII kl.	Bis nonis uirgo Maria transiuerat astra.	
16	XII	e	XVII kl.	Arnulfus pausat septenis rite kalendis.	*Arnulphus.* J.
17	I	l	XVI kl.	Sexdecimis colitur Eufemia uirgo per euum.	
18		u	XV kl.	Quindecimis agitat sol torrens uirginis astrum.	

* Oswaldrum regem nonis celebramus in unum. *J.*

† Idibus in Hypolitus fulsit carne solutus. *J.*

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19	VIIII	s	XIIII kl.	Possidet et Magnus denas quadrasque kalendas.	
20		A	XIII kl.	Tres decimas terras Philibertus more reliquit.	*Morte?*
21	XVII	n	XII kl.	Bis senas titulat Uincentius arte kalendas.	
22	VI	g	XI kl.	Undenas ornat sanctusque Tomotheus almus.	
23		e	X kl.	Autumnus oritur profulgens tempora denis.	*Tempore.* J.
24	XIIII	l	VIIII kl.	Nonis migrauit a seculo Bartholomeus.	
25	III	u	VIII kl.	Octauis alii temnant iam dicere pasvm.	*Temptant.* J & T
26		s	VII kl.	Coetibus angelicis septem lætatur abundus.	*Ab undis.*
27	XI	A	VI kl.	Bis trinis Rufus ascendit iam culmina cœli.	*Rifus.* J.
28	XVIIII	n	V kl.	Augustinus ouans quinas has possidet archus.	
29		g	IIII kl.	Iohannis quadris truncatur collo mocrone.	*Mucrone.* J.
30	VIII	e	III kl.	Audactus Felixque pius trinisque kalendis.	
31		l	II kl.	Paulinus decorat pridias ornatque kalendas.	*Pauli.* T.

Areti flaminigero cuncta leone falent.
Augustus nomen Cesareum sequitur.
Augustum mensem leo feruidus igne perurit.

Nox horarum, X. Dies horarum, XIIII.

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SEPTB. habet Dies XXX. Luna, XXX.

				Septembrem uirgo mensem perfundit amœna. Qui numero gaudet denorum terque dierum. Totque habet luna cursus itidemque dierum. In nonis quadris est octo decemque kalendis.	*Septimberem.* J.
1	XVI	u	KL. SEP.	Prisca petit primas uirgo sancta e kalendas.	
2	V	s	IIII n.	Peruolat in quadris Gorgonius omine nonis.	*Euolat.* J.
3		A	III n.	Antoninus amat cœlestia scandere trinis.	*Antonius.* T & J
4	XIII	n	II n.	Per pridias pausat sanctus Bonifatius altas.	
5	II	g	NON.	Bertinus nonis inuiserat æthera certis.	*Berhtinus.* T & J
6		e	VIII id.	Idibus octauis dormiuit Eleutheriusque.	
7	X	l	VII id.	Uergiliana cadunt septenis idibus astra.	*Uergilia.* T.
8		u	VI id.	Pascitur in senis uirgo perpulchra Maria.	*Nascitur.* J.
9	XVIII	s	V id.	Audomarus ouans quinas et Gorgoniusque.	
10	VII	A	IIII id.	Quadris ac lætatur pastor Hilariusque equus.	*Hilarius.* J.
11		n	III id.	Protum et Iacinctum trinis uenerabere semper.*	
12	XV	g	II id.	Teccla pia uirgo pridias iam detenet idus.	*Tecla.* J. *Beda.* T.
13	IIII	e	IDUS.	Idibus in certis suffertur Amantius aruis.	*Aufertur.* T.
14		l	XVIII kl.	Octodecimis Cyprianus Corneliusque kalendis.	
15	XII	u	XVII kl.	Septadecimas martir sacrat sanctus Nicomedis.	*Sepdecimas.* T. *Nicodemus.* J.
16	I	s	XVI kl.	Mundvm in Sexdecimis lustratur Eutemia uirgo.	*Mundus.* J.
17		A	XV kl.	*Landbertus micuit scandens sidera libre.*† T.	
18	VIIII	n	XIIII kl.	Bis septem sanctus Sixtus dicat ipse kalendas.‡	

* Protum et Iacinethum trinis uenerabile semper. *J.*

† Londbertus micuit migrat sol sidera libram. *J.*

‡ Bis sidera sanctus Sixtus dicat ipse kalendas. *J.*

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19		g	XIII kl.	Tresdecimis transit Festus sociusque kalendis.	*Transiit.* J.
20	XVII	e	XII kl.	Bis senis æquat umbra uolumine lucem.	
21	VI	l	XI kl.	Matheus undenas sancit sibi secula kalendas.*	
22		u	X kl.	Martirius denis intrat Mauricius ardens.	*Martirium.* J.
23	XIIII	s	VIIII kl.	Vendicat ast nonas Tecla sibi uirgo kalendas.	*Mauritius.* J.
24	III	A	VIII kl.	Bis quadris colitur Iohannis numine sanctus.	
25		n	VII kl.	Eucarpus clemens titulat septemque kalendas.	
26	XI	g	VI kl.	Iustina uirgo ternis bis rite refulget.	
27	XVIIII	e	V kl.	Militat in quinis Damianus ceu quoque Cosmas.	
28		l	IIII kl.	Marcialis meruit cœlvm[P] conscendere quadris.	[P]*Clemens.* J.
29	VIII	u	III kl.	Trinis sacratur Michælis chrismate templum.†	
30		s	II kl.	Pridias colitur doctor agius Hieronimus.	*Ieronimus.* T.

Poma legit uirgo maturi mitia solis.
Autumnum pomatum September uegetat.
Sidere uirgo tuo Bachum September opimat. *Opimet.* J.

Nox horarum, XII. Dies horarum, XII.

* Matheus undenas scandit sibi sepe kalendas. *J.*
† Trinis sacratur Michahelis crismate templum. *J.*

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OCTBR. habet Dies XXXI. Luna, XXX.

	Octembrem libra perfundet lampide mensem. Possidet hunc Phebus ter denis additur assis.* Pene soror Phoeba perlustrat totque diebus. Sex nonas recipit denas septemque kalendas.				*Octimbris.* J.
1	XVI	A	KL. OCT.	Prima dies retinet Uedastum Remigiumque.	
2	V	n	VI n.	Bis ternas nonas Ledegarius optat haberi.†	*Leodegarius.* T.
3	XIII	g	V n.	Felix et Uictor per quinas Tartara temnunt.	
4	II	e	IIII n.	Bis binis Marcus et Marcellusque refulget.	*Tempnunt.* J.
5		l	III n.	Ternis Eucius uallatus sorte repausat.	*Euticius.* J. & T.
6	X	u	II n.	Marcellum pridias ueneramur denique castum.	
7		s	NON	Matheus en nonis ditauit munere mundum.	*Fastum.* J.
8	XVIII	A	VIII id.	Idibus octauis Priuatus Eleutheriusque.	*Mundi.*
9	VII	n	VII id.	Dionisius colitur septenis idibus insons.	
10		g	VI id.	Senis infulsit Paulinus lætus in orbe.	
11	XV	e	V id.	Cœlestus quinis gustauit pocula uitæ.	
12	IIII	l	IIII id.	Adrianus quadris conscendit culmina sancta.‡	
13		u	III id.	Idibus in trinis Crescentius atque Uenustus.	
14	XII	s	II id.	Transiuit pridias sæculari luce Calistus.	
15	I	A	IDUS.	Passio Siluani certis ex ordine ordet.	*Ardet.*
16		n	XVII kl.	Sanctus Saturninus denis septemque kalendis.	
17	VIIII	g	XVI kl.	Sexdecimis Lucas euasit carcere carnis.	
18		e	XV kl.	Hospitium recipit Phœbum hic scorpius autem.	

* Possidet hunc Foebus tridenis inditur assis. *J.*
‡ Bis ternas nonas Eleutherius optat habere. *J.*
‡ Vuilfrithus quadris conscendit culmina sancta. *J.*
Adrianus quadris conscendit culmina cœli. *T.*

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19	XVII	l	XIIII kl.	Marcellinus amans septem bis regna requirit.	
20	VI	n	XIII kl.	Caprasius martyr tridenis raptus in aulam.	
21		s	XII kl.	Per quadris rapitur Hilario et presbyter aster.*	
22	XIIII	A	XI kl.	Ethereæ trahat undenis plana Philippus.†	
23	III	n	X kl.	Bis quinis floret Uictor sanctusque Seuerus.	
24		g	VIIII kl.	Uitalis quadris currit quinisque kalendis.	
25	XI	e	VIII kl.	Crispinus colitur quadris bis Crispinianus.‡	
26	XVIIII	l	VII kl.	Aelfred rex obiit septenis et quoque amandus.§	
27		u	VI kl.	Bis ternis radiat Policarpus meles in armis. ‖	
28	VIII	s	V kl.	In quinis Iudas alter et nomine Simon.	*Symon.* T.
29		A	IIII kl.	Quintusque in quadris consedit in arce kalendis.¶	
30	XVI	n	III kl.	Nazarus et sequitur trinis in carcere Paulus.**	
31	V	g	II kl.	Paulinus triueris pridias ex carne solutus.††	

Fundit et October uinea * * *
Mensis et October fœnore ditat agros.
Equat et October sementis tempore libram.

Nox horarum, XIIII. Dies hor. X.

* Per quadris rapitur Hilarius presbyter aster. *J.*
† Æthereis tranat, &c. *J.*
‡ Crispinus colitur tunc sanctus bis Ciprianus. *J.*
§ Maximianus obit septenis et quoque amandus. *J.*
‖ Bis ternis radiat Policarpus miles in armis. *T.*
¶ Quintinus in quadris sed conscendit secla in arcem. *J.*
** Nazarius sequitur trinis in arce passus. *J.*
†† Ast alius quadris Quintinum temptant habere. *J.*

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NOUEMBER habet Dies XXX. *Luna,* XXX. T.

Scorpius altiuolans titulat ambitque Nouembrem.
Scorpius hibernum preceps iubet ire Nouembrem.
Vices per senas numerat se quinque diebus.
Luna dies perfundens totidem luce Nouembris.
Quadrifer in nonis nouenus bisque kalendis.* — *Precessus.* J.

1		e	KL. NOU.	*Omnibus elucent sanctis iustisque kalende.*† T.	
2	XIII	l	IIII n.	Nonis in quartis Iustus Uictorque patebat.	*Quadris.* J.
3	II	u	III n.	Germanus in trinis Uitalisque refulsit.	
4		s	II n.	Et quater meruit pridias conscendere cœlos.‡	
5	X	A	NON.	Et nonis monachus Eusebius ibit in aulam.	
6		n	VIII id.	Octauis Paulus donatus et idibus in sancta.§	
7	XVIII	g	VII id.	Incipit hiemps gelida septenis idibus algens.	
8	VII	e	VI id.	Concordant quadris senis ex idibus arti.	
9		l	V id.	Theodorus in quinis et denis[q] idibus exstant. ‖	[q]*Clemens.* J.
10	XV	u	IIII id.	Quadris transfertur Leo pastor fulgidus heres.	
11	IIII	s	III id.	Martinus trinis cœlvm[r] penetrauerat archus.	*Clemens.* J.
12		A	II id.	Germanus pridias infulsit numine cosmo.	
13	XII	n	IDUS.	Eminet et Bricius certis ex idibus insons.	*Britius.* T.
14	I	g	XVIII kl.	Clementinus amat nonas bis forte kalendas.	*Clementius.* J.
15		e	XVII kl.	Sepdecimis dormit Demetrius atque kalendis.¶	

* Quadrificus nonis denis nouisque kalendis. *J.*

† Of this line, which is totally effaced from Julius, the word *Omnium* alone appears in this MS.

‡ Et quartus meruit, &c.—*T.* E **** eruit ***** *J.*

§ Octauis Paulus Donatus et idibus instant. *J.*

‖ Theodorus in quinis et idibus demens exstant. *T.*

¶ Sepdecimis dormit Demetrius atque Secundus. *J.*

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16	VIIII	l	XVI kl.	Sexdecimis Iustum colimus iam rite kalendis.	*Iustam.* J.
17		u	XV kl.	Arcitenens agitat Phœbum ter quinque kalendis.*	
18	XVII	s	XIIII kl.	Denis et quadris concurrit Maximus equus.	
19	VI	A	XIII kl.	Denis et trinis Ianuarius atque kalendis.	
20		n	XII kl.	Galus acciperat bis senas sorte kalendas.†	
21	XIIII	g	XI kl.	Undenis colimus sanctum Basilĭumque kalendis.	
22	III	e	X kl.	Cœcilia uirgo denis sanctaque kalendis	
23		l	VIIII kl.	Sol fulgens oritur Clemens nonisque kalendis.	
24	XI	u	VIII kl.	Octauis patitur martyr Krisogonus in altvm.‡	*Crisogonus.* T.
25	XVIIII	s	VII kl.	Septenis Petrus oritur hiemps atque kalendis.	*Iamque.* J.
26		A	VI kl.	Atque Saturninus senis coliturque kalendis.	
27	VIII	n	V kl.	Marcellĭnus iuit et Petrus fuluida regna.	
28		g	IIII kl.	Egressit in quadris Iulianus atque Trophĭnus.	*Trofimus.* T.
29	XVI	e	III kl.	Atque Saturninus iterum trinisque repausat.	
30	V	l	II kl.	Andreas patitur pridĭas in Achia sanctus.	

Aret tota soli species in dura ne per * * *
Scorpius hibernum preceps iubet ire Nouembrem.
Nox horarum, XVI. Dies hor. VIII.

* Architenens agitat Phœbus, &c. *J.*
† Galus æqui pausat, &c. *J.*
‡ Octauis colitur martyr Chrisogonus in aula. *J.*

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DECEMBER habet Dies XXXI. Luna, XXX.

Arcitenens trucidat frigescens fonte Decembrem.*
Promit qui numerum semel æque terque decadem.
Astraua rutulat denis iam pene decima.
Quadrificus nonis nonus denisque kalendis.†

Astrua. J.

1		u	KL. DEC.	Prima dies mensis Kasianum continet almum.	
2	XIII	s	IIII n.	Atque secunda dies Uictorem possidet æquum.	
3	II	A	III kl.	Tertia Crispinum cum magno nomine sanctum.	
4	X	n	II n.	Quarta dies retinet Prudentem cum quoque Eraclo.	
5		g	NON.	Quinta tenet ueram dominam Angloram Ealhswithe.‡	
6	XVIII	e	VIII id.	Sexta dies reuocat Hermonem cumque Rogato.	*Cum quoque.* J.
7	VII	l	VII n.	Septima concludit Policarpum cum Theodoro.	
8		u	VI id.	Octaua depromit Urbanum numine sanctum.§	
9	XV	s	V id.	Noua Ualentinum fecundat nomine pulchro.	*Ualenus.* J.
10	IIII	A	IIII id.	Decima Eulalia congaudet uirgine casta.	*Kasta.* J.
11		n	III id.	Undecim titulat pastorem rite Damascum.	
12	XII	g	II id.	At duodena dies Donati nomine gaudet.	
13	I	e	IDUS.	Tresdecima rutulat uirgo iam Lucia sancta.	*Tresdecimam.* J.
14		l	XVIIII kl.	Dedis et nonis Uictor dormitque kalendis.	
15	VIIII	u	XVIII kl.	Candidus eluxit nonis bis cumque Fausto.	
16		s	XVII. kl.	Atque Ualentinus denis septemque kalendis.	

* Architenens trucidat frigenscens forte Decimbrem. *J*
† Quadrificus nonis denis nonisque kalendis. *J.*
‡ Quinta tenet ueram dominam Anglorum Ialhswithe caram. *T.*
Quinta tenet ueram dominam Francorum caram. *J.*
§ Octaua Urbanum cum magno nomine sanctum. *J.*

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17	XVII	A	XVI kl.	Sexdecimis martir Ignatus sorte kalendis.	
18	VI	n	XV kl.	Sol oriens intrat quinis ter sidera capri.	
19		g	XIIII kl.	Bis VII sequitur sanctus Gregorius almus.	*Bis septem.* T. J.
20	XIIII	e	XIII kl.	Promit Anastasius denis trinisque kalendis.	*Promat.* T.
21	III	l	XII kl.	Solstitium Thomas habitat in cardine sanctus.	
22		u	XI kl.	Undecimis Romæ Felix deponitur archus.	
23	XI	s	X kl.	Cornelius denis Eleutheriusque kalendis.	
24	XVIIII	A	VIIII kl.	Nonis iam uigiles repetamus pectore Christum.	
25		n	VIII kl.	Octanis felix enixa puerpera Christum.	
26	VIII	g	VII kl.	Septenis Stephanus in sanguine natat.	
27		c	VI kl.	Iohannis senis superauerat astra kalendis.*	
28	XVI	l	V kl.	Infantes quinis uapulantur mortæ kalendis.	
29	V	u	IIII kl.	Felicem colimus quadris in sorte kalendis.	
30		s	III kl.	Trinis in sæclo pausat Florentius equis.	
31	XII	A	II kl.	Siluestrum pridias notum celebramus in orbe.†	

Terminat arcitenens medio sua signa Decembrem. *Architenens. J.*
Unde December amat te genialis hiems.
Imbrifer ast mensis tumque December adest.
Nox horarum, XVIII. Dies, VI.

* Iohannis senis seruauerat astra kalendis. *J.*

† Siluestrum pridias nos nunc celebramus in orbe. *J.*

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By the fire at Westminster, which, in 1731, destroyed a great part of the Library, in the collection of which Sir Robert Cotton, assisted by Andrews, bishop of Winchester, Lambard, Dr. Dee, Sir Christopher Hatton, and other learned men, had spent upwards of forty years, many of his valuable MSS. were consumed, or considerably damaged. Among the latter was the Saxon codex, *Vitellius*, E, XVIII, which is described in the catalogue to be so much injured, as to be rendered almost useless.* The mutilated leaves, each carefully enclosed in paper, are now preserved in boxes. The kalendar, which is in the Normanno-Saxon character, has lost nearly all the golden numbers, and the letters of Jerome's alphabet, which, depending upon computation, may be readily restored. With respect to the age of the MS. Dr. Hickes supposes it to be a composition of the year 1031, and describes it as containing the names of the months in Saxon and Egyptian. Of the latter there are but few; and as to its age, it commences with the Circumcision, of which the earliest mention, as a festival, is said to be in 488, under Pope Zeno. It is named by Ivo Carnotensis, who lived in 1090, and by St. Bernhard, who lived in 1140.† There are several additions to the kalendar, in a hand apparently not older than the twelfth or thirteenth century, which, in the following copy, are distinguished by Italic lines. The words and parts of words enclosed within brackets have been destroyed by the fire, and where no attempt has been made to restore them, asterisks occur. The first column of Arabic ciphers is a present addition, to aid the reader, to whom an early and useful kalendar is offered.

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* "Igne adeo corruptus ut pene inutilis hodie evasit." *Catal. p.* 481.

† Hildebrand. de Diebus Festis, p. 37. This writer mentions another opinion, that the Circumcision has been observed since the seventh century. —*V. Festum Dominicæ Circumcisionis.*

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KAL. COTT. VITELL. E, XVIII.

JANUARY.

PRINCIPIUM [JANI] SANCIT TROPIC* CAPRICORNUS.
[Æꝛtena Geohleꝛ Monað] *habet Dies* .XXXI. *Luna* .XXX.

1	III	A	KL. JAN.	Circumci*** NRI IHU XPI.
2		B	IIII n.	Octauæ S'ci Stephani protomar*
3	XI	C	III n.	Octauæ S'ci Iohannis. *S'ce Genouefe.*
4		D	II n.	Octauæ S'corum Innocentum.
5	XVIIII	E	NON.	*Depos. S. Edwardi regis* ⁊ *conf.*
6	VIII	F	VIII id.	Epiphania Domini.
7		G	VII id.	
8	XVI	A	VI id.	
9	V	B	V id.	[T]ranslatio S'ci Iudoci conf.
10		C	IIII id.	S'ci Pauli primi heremite.
11	XIII	D	III id.	
12	II	E	II id.	
13		F	IDVS.	Octab. Epiph. ⁊ S'corum Hilarii ⁊ Remigii.
14	X	G	XVIIII KL.	FEBR. S'ci Felicis.
15		A	XVIII kl.	S' Mauri abb. *Et Macharii abb*
16	XVIII	B	XVII kl.	S'ci Marcelli pape ⁊ m.
17	VII	C	XVI kl.	S'ci Antoni conf. *abb.*
18		D	XV kl.	S'ce Prisce uirg. Sol intrat in aq[uarium].
19	XV	E	XIIII kl.	S'ci Branualatoris conf. *S'ci Will'mi ep'i.*
20	IIII	F	XIII kl.	S'ci Fabiani ⁊ Sebastiani.
21		G	XII kl.	S'ce Agnetis uirg.
22	XII	A	XI kl.	S'ci Uincentii mar.
23	I	B	X kl.	S'corum Emerentiane ⁊ Macharii.
24		C	VIIII kl.	S'ci Babille ⁊ trium puerorum eius.
25	VIIII	D	VIII kl.	*Conuersio S'ci Pauli ap'li* ******
26		E	VII kl.	Sextus Egiptiorum mensis MECHIR.
27	XVII	F	VI kl.	S'ci Joh'is Crisostomi ep'i.
28	VI	G	V kl.	Oct. S'ce Agnetis uirg.
29		A	IIII kl.	
30	XIIII	B	III kl.	*ci Balthidi reginæ.
31	III	C	II kl.	Januarius hora .III. ⁊ *******

Nox Horarum .XVI. Dies .VIII.

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FEBRUARY.

Mense nume in medio Soli distat sidus in aqu * * ii.
Ast Februi quarta est precedit tertia finem.
Solmonað habet dies .XXVIII. Luna .XXVIIII.

1		D	KL. [FEBR.]	S'ce Brigide uirg *S'ci Ignatii.*
2	XI	E	IIII n.	[P]urificatio S'cae Mariae.
3	XVIIII	F	III n	*S'ci Blasii ep'i ⁊ conf.*
4	VIII	G	II n.	
5		A	NON.	S'cae Agathæ uirginis.
6	XVI	B	VIII	S'corum Uedasti ⁊ Amandi.
7	V	C	VII id.	Ueris initium habet dies XCI.
8		D	VI id.	Prima Quadragesima Dominica.
9	XIII	E	V id.	
10	II	F	IIII id.	S'cæ Scolasticæ uirginis.
11		G	III id.	
12	X	A	II id.	
13		B	IDVS.	S'cæ Eormenhilde uirg.
14	XVIII	C	XVI KL. MAR.	S'ci Ualentini mar.
15	VII	D	XV kl.	S'ci * * * * Sol in pisces.
16		E	XIIII kl.	S'ce Iuliane uirg.
17	XV	F	XIII kl.	
18	IIII	G	XII kl.	
19		A	XI kl.	
20	XII	B	X kl.	
21	I	C	VIIII kl.	
22		D	VIII kl.	Cathedra S'ci Petri Ap'li. Uer oritur. Stigað * *
23	VIIII	E	VII kl.	
24		F	VI kl.	S'ci Mathiæ Ap'li. Locus Bissexti.
25	XVII	G	V kl.	Septimus Egiptiorum mensis FAMENOTH.
26	VI	A	IIII kl.	
27		B	III kl.	
28	XIIII	C	II kl.	Februarius hora .III. ⁊ IX pedes .XV. Nox horarum .XIIII. Dies .X.

[A]nno bissexti lune Februarii mensis .XXX. computandæ sunt.
Luna quoq. Martii .XXX. dies habet sicut semper habet.
[N]e Paschalis Lune ratio uacillet. S^ti luce festiuitas celebratur Mathiæ Ap'li in c^o.
In anno quando bissextus euenerit. aspice lunam Februarii.
si extingurante .VI. kl. Martii. ⁊ si ante predictas sine kldas.
* * co. Martii extincta fuerit. fac illam ut sit XXX^ma.
In loco abierit primam * * * anno. ⁊ in crastino die qui sequitur fac illic primam.
* * * * man * * * * * * ⁊ prior dies bissexti dies est et insequ * * * * *

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MARCH.

Procedunt dupplices in Mar[tia] tempora Pisces.
Martis prima necat cuius sic cuspide quarta est.
Þræ Monaþ habet dies .XXXI. Luna .XXX.

1	III	D	KL. MAR.	- - - Hic mutant'anni l' ⁊ concurr. *
2		E	VI n.	S'ci Ceaddan ep'i.
3	XI	F	V n.	Luna .I. emb'l. endecadis hic accens.
4		G	IIII n.	
5	XVIIII	A	III n.	Endecadis ultimus emb'l.
6	VIII	B	II n:	Ogdoadis .III. emb'l.
7		C	NON.	[S'carum P]erpetuæ ⁊ Felicitatis.
8	XVI	D	VIII id.	Prima incensio Lunæ Paschalis.
9	V	E	VII id.	
10		F	VI id.	
11	XIII	G	V id.	*Alb.* *Alb.*
12	II	A	IIII id.	S'ci Gregorii Et S'ci Ælfeagi ep'i.
13		B	III id.	In Attica miluus apparet.
14	X	C	II id.	Vltima Quadragesima Dominicæ.
15		D	IDVS.	S'ci Longini mar.
16	XVIII	E	XVII KL. APRIL.	*S'ci Ciriaci Sociorumq. eius mar.* III. *l'c.*
17	VII	F	XVI kl.	S'ci Patricii ep'i.
18		G	XV kl.	S'ci Eadweardi regis ⁊ mar.
19	XV	A	XIIII kl.	S'ci Iosephi sponsi.
20	IV	B	XIII kl.	S'ci Cuthberhti ep.
21		C	XII kl.	S'ci Benedicti abbatis. Equinoctium.
22	XII	D	XI kl.	Primum Pascha. ⁊ Sedes Epactarum.
23	I	E	X kl.	
24		F	VIIII kl.	Locus Concurrentium.
25	VIIII	G	VIII kl.	Adnuntiatio S'ce Mariae uirg.
26		A	VII kl.	
27	XVII	B	VI kl.	Octauus Ægiptiorum mensis PHAMOUTH.
28	VI	C	V kl.	
29		D	IIII kl.	
30	XIIII	E	III kl.	
31	III	F	II kl.	

Martius hora .III. ⁊ .IX. [P]edes .XIII. ********** Rarum .XII.
Dies .XII.
rtio ebdomada .I. est celebr*tio ieiuniorum .IIII. *

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APRIL.

Respicis Aprilis Aries erixet Kalendas.
Aprilis decima est undeno a fine mina[tur].
Cartemonað habet dies .XXX. Luna .XX[VIIII].

1		G	KL. APR.	
2	XI	A	IIII n.	
3		B	III n.	
4	XVIIII	C	II n.	[S]ci Ambrosii ep'i Mediolanensis.
5	XVIII	D	NON.	Ultima incensio Paschalis Lunæ.
6	XVI	E	VIII id.	
7	V	F	VII id.	
8		G	VI id.	
9	XIII	A	V id.	
10	II	B	IIII id.	
11		C	III id.	S'ci Leonis papæ. ⁊ S. Guthlaci.
12	X	D	II id.	
13		E	IDVS.	S'ce Euphemiæ uirg.
14	XVIII	F	XVIII KL. APRI.	S'corum Tiburtii ⁊ Ualeriani. *Et Maximi.*
15	VII	G	XVII kl.	
16		A	XVI kl.	
17	XV	B	XV kl.	
18	IIII	C	XIIII kl.	Ultimus terminus Paschae.
19		D	XIII kl.	S'ci Ælfeagi. *Archiep'i et Martiris.*
20	XII	E	XII kl.	D. Mala.
21	I	F	XI kl.	
22		G	X kl.	Inuentio Corporis S'ci Dionisii ep'i.
23	IX	A	VIIII kl.	S'ci Georgii mar.
24		B	VIII kl.	
25	XVII	C	VII kl.	S'ci Marci euang'l'æ.
26	VI	D	VI kl.	Nonus Ægiptiorum Mensis PACHON.
27		E	V kl.	
28	XIIII	F	IIII kl.	S'ci Uitalis martiris.
29	III	G	III kl.	
30		A	II kl.	S'ci Erkenwoldi ep'i *et conf.*

A[pri]lis hora .III. ⁊ .IX. pedes .XI. ****
Nox horarum .X. Dies .XIIII.

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MAY.

Maius agenorfi miratur ***** ****i.
Tertius Maio Lupus est et septimus ang[uis.]
Ðþýmylce monað habet dies .XXXI. lu ** ***

1	xi	B	KL. MAI.	S'corum Philippi [⁊ Iacobi] *Processio in cappis.*
2		C	vi n.	S'ci Athanasii *archiep'i* ⁊ *conf.*
3	xviiii	D	v n.	Inuentio S'cæ Crucis. ⁊ S'corum Alexandri Euentii ⁊ Theodol. *p'cessio in capp.*
4	viii	E	iiii n.	
5		F	iii n.	
6	xvi	G	ii n.	S'ci Iohannis Ap'li ante Portam Latinam.
7	v	A	NON.	
8		B	viii id.	
9	xiiii	C	vii id.	Æstatis initium habet dies .XCII.
10	ii	D	vi id.	S'corum Gordiani ⁊ Epimachi.
11		E	v id.	
12	x	F	iiii id.	S'corum Nerei. Achillei. Atq. Pancratii.
13		G	iii id.	
14	xviii	A	ii id.	
15	vii	B	IDVS.	
16		C	xvii KL. IUNII.	
17	xv	D	xvi kl.	
18	iiii	E	xv kl.	S'cæ Ælfgiuæ reginæ. Sol in Geminos.
19		F	xiiii kl.	S'cæ Potentianæ uir. ⁊ S'ci Dunstani archiep'i.
20	xii	G	xiii kl.	
21	i	A	xii kl.	
22		B	xi kl.	
23	viiii	C	x kl.	
24		D	viiii kl.	Estas oritur.
25	xvii	E	viii kl.	S'ci Urbani.
26	vi	F	vii kl.	S'ci Augustini archiep'i. ⁊ S. Bede *prbri.*
27		G	vi kl.	
28	viii	A	v kl.	
29	iii	B	iiii kl.	
30		C	iii kl.	
31	xi	D	ii kl.	S'cæ Petronellæ uirg.

Maius hora .III. ⁊ .IIII. pedes .VIII. ****
Nox horarum .VIII. Dies .XVI.

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JUNE.

Iunius æquatus celo * * * * * ire Laconas.
Iunius in decimo quindenum a fine salutat.
Liða monað habet dies .XXX. Luna .XXVIIII.

1		E	KL. IUN.	S'ci Nico[me]dis m.
2	xviiii	F	iiii n.	S'corum Marcellini ⁊ Petri *mar.* ⁊ *Simon.*
3	viii	G	iii n.	
4	xvi	A	ii n.	S'ci Petroci conf.
5	v	B	NON.	S'ci Bonefacii mar.
6		C	viii id.	
7	xiiii	D	vii id.	S'ci Audomari conf. *Translatio S'ci Wulst* * * * *
8	ii	E	vi id.	S'ci Medardi ep'i ⁊ Gildardi ep'i.
9		F	v id.	S'corum Primi ⁊ Feliciani. Et S'ci Columkille. *Translatio S'ci Eadmundi conf.*
10	x	G	iiii id.	Dedicatio Eccl'æ S'cæ Mariæ.
11		A	iii id.	S'ci Barnabæ Ap'li.
12	xviii	B	ii id.	Basilidis. Cirini. Naboris. ⁊ Nazari.
13	vii	C	IDVS.	Ultimum Pentecosten.
14		D	xviii KL.	IULII, S'ci Basilii ep'i *et conf.*
15	xv	E	xvii kl.	S'cæ Eadburge uir. ⁊ S'ci Miti *(Viti)* m. ⁊ Modesti.
16	iiii	F	xvi kl.	S'ci Cirici. ⁊ Iulitte matris eius.
17		G	xv kl.	Sol intrat in Cancrum. S'ci Botulfi abb.
18	xii	A	xiiii kl.	S'corum Marci ⁊ Marcelliani. mr.
19	i	B	xiii kl.	S'corum Geruasi ⁊ Protasi.
20		C	xii kl.	Passio S'ci Crispini mar. Solstitium.
21	viiii	D	xi kl.	S'ci Leouthfredi conf. *Leofredi conf.*
22		E	x kl.	S'ci Albani mar. *et S. Achacii sociorq. eius.*
23	xvii	F	viiii kl.	S'ce Ætheldrythe uir. Uigilia. *Etheldride.*
24	vi	G	viii kl.	Natiuitas S'ci Iohannis Baptistæ *Dup. Festum.*
25		A	vii kl.	Undecim Ægiptiorum m'sis AEPIPHI.
26	xiiii	B	vi kl.	S'corum Iohannis ⁊ Pauli *mar.*
27	iii	C	v kl.	
28		D	iiii kl.	S'ci Leonis. Uigilia.
29	xi	E	iii kl.	S'corum Ap'lorum Petri ⁊ Pauli. *Dup. Festum.*
30		F	ii kl.	S'ci Pauli Ap'li. *S'ci Marcialis conf. alb.*

Iunius hora .III. .IX. Pedes. ⁊ hora .VI. Pedes .I. ⁊ dimidium.
XII lectiones.

Nox horarum .XVI. Dies .VIII.

[M]ense Iunii ebdomada .ii. est celebratio ieiuniorum .IIII. ⁊ .VI. fr. [*i. e. feria*] ⁊ in Sabbato.

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JULY.

Solstitio ardentis Cancri fert Iuli austrum.
A* decimus Iuli * * * * * * * * * kalendas.
[Æftepa Lýða monað] habet dies XXXI. Lun. X**

1	XVIIII	G	KL. [IULII]	Oct. S'ci Iohannis Bapt.†
2	VIII	A	VI n.	Dep. S. Suuithuni mitissimi ep. Processi ⁊ Martiniani.
3		B	V n.	
4	XVI	C	IIII n.	[O]rdinatio & transl. S'ci Martini.
5	V	D	III n.	
6		E	II n.	Octab. Ap'lorum Petri & Pauli. & S. Sexburge *abb.*
7	XIII	F	NON.	S'ci Hædde ep'i.
8	II	G	VIII id.	S'ci Grimbaldi conf.
9		A	VII id.	
10	X	B	VI id.	S'corum .VII. Fratrum.
11		C	V id.	Transl. S'ci Benedicti *abb.* K.
12	XVIII	D	IV id.	
13	VII	E	III id.	
14		F	II id.	- - - Dies Kaniculares, et hic incipit di***
15	XV	G	IDVS.	Transl. S'ci Suuithuni ep'i.
16	IIII	D	XVII KL.	AUGUSTI.
17		E	XVI kl.	S'ci Kenelmi mar. gloriosi.
18		F	XV kl.	S'ce Eadburge uir. *Oct. S'ci Benedicti.* Sol in Le.
19		G	XIIII kl.	
20		A	XIII kl.	S'ci Uulmari conf. *S'ce Margarite V. et S. Wulmari.*
21		B	XII kl.	S'ce Praxedis uirg. *Octaue S'ci Swithin.*
22		C	XI kl.	S'ci Wandregislii ⁊ S'ce Mariæ Magdalenæ.
23		D	X kl.	S'ci Apollonaris ep'i ⁊ mar.
24		E	VIIII kl.	S'ce Cristinæ uirginis & *mar.*
25		F	VIII kl.	S'ci Iacobi Ap'li ⁊ S'ci Xpoferi m.
26		G	VII kl.	S'cæ Annæ matr. S'cæ Mariæ.
27		A	VI kl.	S'corum .VII^tem. dormientium.
28		B	V kl.	S'ci Pantaleonis martir**
29		C	IIII kl.	S'corum Felicis. Simplicii. Faustini. & Beatricis.
30		D	III kl.	S'corum Abdon & Sennen. Locus Saltus.
31		E	II kl.	S'ci Germani incliti ep'i. XII lc.

Nox horarum VIII. Dies ***

† The vellum is so burned and warped by the fire, as to cause the names "Processi & Martiniani" to range exactly with the *Oct. S. Joh. Bapt.*

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AUGUST.

Augustus mensem Leo feruidas igne perurit.
Augusti nepa prima fugat desinet s'c'dum.
ꝑeoƀ monaƀ habet Dies .XXXI. Luna XXX.

1	VIII	D	KL. [AUG.	A]duincula S. Petri ⁊ Mach. & Athelwoldi ep'i.
2	XVI	D	IIII n:	S'[ci] Stephani **** & mart.
3	V	E	III n.	[I]nuentio S'ci Stephani. Protomar. Emb'l. VI.
4		F	II n,	
5	XVI	G	NON.	S'ci Osuualdi regis ⁊ m.
6	II	A	VIII id.	S'corum Sixti. Felicissimi. ⁊ Agapiti.
7		B	VII id.	S'ci Donati ep'i. Autumni initium hab. & dies XCII.
8	X	C	VI id.	S'ci Cyriaci mar. *cum sociis eius.*
9		D	V id.	Uigilia.
10	XVIII	E	IIII id.	S'ci Laurentii Leuite & martyris.
11	VII	F	III id.	S'ci Tiburtii mar. *& S'corum ep'orum Gaugerici &* ****
12		G	II id.	
13	XV	A	IDVS.	S'ci Ypoliti mar. *cum Sociis suis.*
14	III	B	XVIIII KL.	SEP. S'ci Eusebii conf. Uigilia.
15		C	XVIII kl.	Assumptio S'cae Mariae.
16	XII	D	XVII kl.	
17	I	E	XVI kl.	Oct. S'ci Laurentii m.
18		F	XV kl.	S'ci Agapiti mar. Sol intrat in uirgine.
19	VIIII	G	XIIII kl.	Sc'i Magni mar.
20		A	XIII kl.	
21	XVII	B	XII kl.	
22	VI	C	XI kl.	S'corum Timothei & Simphoniani. *Oct. S'ce Marie V.*
23		D	X kl.	Autumnus oritur.
24	XIIII	E	VIIII kl.	S'ci Bartholomei Ap'li & S. Audoeni. Fin .XII. ap'aeg.
25	III	F	VIII kl.	
26		G	VII kl.	
27	XI	A	VI kl.	S'ci Rufi mar.
28		B	V kl.	[S]ci Magni Augustini ep'i & Hermetis mart.
29	XVIIII	C	IIII kl.	Decoll. Iohannis Bap. & S. Sabine
30	VIII	D	III kl.	S'corum Felicis & Audacti. D. M.
31		E	II kl.	S'ce Cuthburge uirg.

Augustus hora .III. ⁊ .VIIII. Pedes .VIIII. hora .VI. Pedes III.
Nox horarum .X. Dies .XIIII.

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SEPTEMBER.

****** ***go tuo Bachum September opimat.
Septembris uulpis ferat a pede denum.
[Þalıȝ mo]naƀ habet dies .XXX. Luna XXX.

1	XVI	F	KL. SE[P. S]ci Prisci mar.	Embl. II** Epacte
2	V	G	IIII n.	*Translatio S'ci Grimbaldi.*
3		A	III n.	
4	XIII	B	II n.	Transl. S'ci B[ir]ini & Cuthberti.
5	II	C	NON.	[S]ci Berhtini abbatis. Dies Caniculares hic finiunt.
6		D	VIII id.	
7	X	E	VII id.	
8		F	VI id.	Natiuitatis S'ce Mariae. Et S. Adriani m.
9	XVIII	G	V id.	[S]ci Gorgonii mar. *et S. Modeuenne V.*
10	VII	A	IIII id.	Transl. S'ci Athelwoldi *(in capp.) et S'ci Fridestanı̄ ep'i alb.*
11		B	III id.	[S]corum Proti ⁊ Iacincti. *Oct. S'ci Birini.*
12	XV	C	II id.	
13	IIII	D	IDVS.	
14		E	XVIII kl.	Oc. Exaltatio S'ce Crucis. ⁊ S'corum Cornelii ⁊ Cipriani.
15	XII	F	XVII kl.	S'ci Nicomedis mar.
16	I	G	XVI kl.	S'ce Eufemiæ ⁊ S. Lucie. ⁊ Geminiani. ⁊ Dep. *** Eadgithe uir.
17		A	XV kl.	S'ci Landeberhti. Sol in Libra.
18	VIIII	B	XIIII kl.	
19		C	XIII kl.	
20	XVII	D	XII kl.	Uigilia alb.
21	V	E	XI kl.	S'ci Mathæi Ap'li ⁊ euang'l'e. Equinoctium. S. *
22		F	X kl.	S'ci Mauricii cum Sociis suis. XII *l'c.*
23	XIIII	G	VIIII kl.	
24	III	A	VIII kl.	Conceptio S. Joh'is Baptiste. Equinoctium S'cd'm Romanos Locus incipit f****
25		B	VII kl.	
26	XI	C	VI kl.	
27		D	V kl.	[S]corum Cosme ⁊ Damiani.
28	XVIIII	E	IIII kl.	
29	VIII	F	III kl.	Dedicatio S'ci Michalis arch.
30		G	II kl.	[S]ci Hieronimi presbiteri.

Septemb. hora .III. ⁊ .VIIII. Ped. .XI. Hora .VI. ped. VI.
Nox horarum .XII. Dies .XII.
*ense Septemb. ebdomada .III. est celebratio ieuniorum .IIII. & .VI. fr.

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OCTOBER.

****** ** *tober si meritis tempore Libram.
**** Octobris gladius decimo ordine neca*
[ꝑıntep ꝑÿl]leð habet Dies .XXXI. Luna .XXX.

1	XIV	A	KL. [OCT.]	S'corum Ger[mani, Remigii, & Vedasti.]
2	V	B	VI n.	[S'ci] Leodegari ep'i & mar.
3	XIII	C	V n.	
4	II	D	IIII n.	
5		E	III n.	
6	X	F	II n.	S'ce Fidis & Marci.
7		G	NON.	S'ci Marci papæ. & S'corum Marcelli & Apulei.
8	XVIII	A	VIII id.	S'ci Iwigii confes.
9	VII	B	VII id.	S'corum Dionisii. Rustici. & Eleu[th]erii.
10		C	VI id.	S'ci Paulini ep'i.
11	XV	D	V id.	
12	IIII	E	IIII id.	S'ci Uuilfridi ep'i. XII *l'c. O[biit] Terricius Monachus.*
13		F	III id.	*S'ci Edwardi Regis et conf.*
14	XII	G	II id.	S'ci Calesti.
15	I	A	IDVS.	
16		B	XVII KL.	NOU. *Edetheldride V. T'latio.*†
17	VIIII	C	XVI kl.	S'ce Aþelþriðe uir.
18		D	XV kl.	S'ci Luce euu'g'le. & S. Justini. Sol in Scorpione.
19	XVII	E	XIIII kl.	*S'cæ Frithewide V.*
20	VI	F	XIII kl.	*S'corum Vndecim m. v. et S'cæ Austreberte V.*
21		G	XII kl.	S'ci Hilarionis monarchi.
22	XIII	A	XI kl.	*Ælfflede.*†
23	III	B	X kl.	S'ce Æþelþlæðee uir. S'ci Romani ep'i & conf.
24		C	VIIII kl.	- - - D. ꝏ.
25	XI	D	VIII kl.	
26		E	VII kl.	
27	XVIIII	F	VI kl.	Vigilia.
28	VIII	G	V kl.	Ap'lorum Symonis Et Iude .III. AEG.' M.' XVIIII. & G.' M.' D.'
29		A	IIII kl.	
30	XVI	A	III kl.	Ordinatio S'ci Suuithuni ep'i *alb.*
31	V	C	II kl.	S'ci Quinctini mar. Vigilia.

Octob. hora .III. & .VIIII. Pedes .XII. hora .VI. ped. & ***
*ox horarum .XIIII. Dies X.

† Interlined explanations of the Saxon beneath.

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NOVEMBER.

* corpius hibernum pr* * * * * ***** **** ********
Quincta Nouembris acus uix etiam ansi * * * * *
Blo'ɒ[mo]naδ habet dies .XXX. Luna * * * *

1		D	KL.	[NOU. S.]ollempnitas Omnium S[anctorum].
2	XIII	E	IIII n.	[S]ci Eustachii sociorumq. eius.
3	II	F	III n.	Transl. S'ce Eadgyde uirg.
4		G	II n.	S'ci Byrnstani ep'i.
5	X	A	NON.	D. M.
6		B	VIII id.	*S'ci Leonardi ep'i et conf.*
7	XVIII	C	VII id.	Hiems oritur hab. & dies XCII.
8	VII	D	VI id.	S'corum .IIII. Coronatorum.
9		E	V id.	S'ci Theodori mar.
10	XV	F	IIII id.	
11	IIII	G	III id.	S'ci Martini ep'i. ⁊ S. Menne mar.
12		A	II id.	
13	XII	B	IDVS.	S. Bricii ep'i.
14	I	C	XVIII KL.	DECEMB.
15		D	XVII kl.	*S'ci Machloni conf.*
16	VIIII	E	XVI kl.	*Depositio S'ci Eadmundi arch.*
17		F	XV kl.	S'ci Aniani ep'i. Sol in Sagittario.
18	XVII	G	XIIII kl.	Oct. S'ci Martini.
19	VI	A	XIII kl.	
20		B	XII kl.	S'ci Eadmundi regis ⁊ mar.
21	XIIII	C	XI kl.	Oblatio S'cæ Mariæ in templo d'ni cum ess& trium annorum
22	III	D	X kl.	S'cæ Ceciliae uirginis ⁊ mar.
23		E	VIIII kl.	S'ci Clementis ep'i ⁊ mar.
24	XI	F	VIII kl.	S'ci Crisogoni mar. Locus saltus secund. Roman.
25	XIIII	G	VII kl.	S'ce Caterine uir. ⁊ mar. Hiems oritur.
26		A	VI kl.	S'ci Lini.
27	VIII	B	V kl.	Primus Aduentus D'ni.
28		C	IIII kl.	D. M.
29	XVI	D	III kl.	S'ci Saturnini mar. Uigilia.
30	V	E	II kl.	S'ci Andreæ Ap'li.

Nouember hora .III. ⁊ .VIIII. Pedes .XV. hor. .VI. ped. .VIII.
**x horarum .XVI. Dies .VIII.

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DECEMBER.

* * * * * * * * arcitenens medio sua signa Decem * * *
* * * * * * cohors .VII. inde decemq. Decembr *
[Æɲɲa Geola] habet dies .XXXI. Luna .XXX.

1	XIII	F	KL. [DEC.]	S'corum Crisanti & [Da]riæ * * *
2	II	G	IIII n.	Embol' hic oritur.
3		A	III n.	[D]epositio S'ci Birini ep'i. Ultimus Aduent.
4	X	B	II n.	S'ci Benedicti abb. III Emb. hic oritur.
5		C	NON.	
6	XVIII	D	VIII id.	*S'ci Nickolai conf. atq. pontific.*
7	VI	E	VII id.	Oct. S'ci Andrae Ap'li. *et ordinatio S'ci Ambrosii.*
8		F	VI id.	Conceptio S'ce D'ni Genetricis Mariae.
9	XV	G	V id.	
10	III	A	IIII id.	Oct. S'ci Birini.
11		B	III id.	Beati Damasi papæ *et conf.*
12	XII	C	II id.	Dies m.
13	I	D	IDVS.	S'ce Lucie uir. & S. Iudoci conf.
14		E	XVIIII KL. IAN.	
15	VIIII	F	XVIII kl.	Dies m.
16		G	XVII kl.	*S'ce Barbare V.*
17	XVII	A	XVI kl.	
18	VI	B	XV kl.	Sol intrat in Capricornum.
19		C	XIIII kl.	
20	XIV	D	XIII kl.	Vigilia.
21	II	E	XII kl.	S'ci Thome Ap'li. Solstitium scdm. G. & Egip.
22		F	XI kl.	
23	XI	G	X kl.	
24	XVIIII	A	VIIII kl.	*Vigilia domini nostri.*
25		B	VIII kl.	Natiuitas D'ni nr. I H U. X P I. Solstitium s. R.
26	VIII	C	VII kl.	S'ci Stephani protomartyris.
27		D	VI kl.	S'ci Ioh'is Ap'li & euu'le' .V. AEG. M. Tybi.
28	XVI	E	V kl.	S'corum Innocentum.
29	V	F	IIII kl.	
30		G	III kl.	
31	XIII	A	II kl.	S'ci Siluestri Papae.

Decemb. hora .III. & .VIII. ped. .XVII. hora .VI. ped. .II. S. XII. lactiones.

* ense December in proximo Sabbato ante uig'l'a Natale D'ni est celebratio.

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Of about the same age, if not earlier, is the small MS. in the collection, marked *Titus*, D. XXVII, which there is sufficient internal evidence, has belonged to a Saxon Monastery. It abounds in obits, chiefly of their own abbots, priests, deacons, monks, sacristans, *vestiarii*, &c. Among them are those of several Saxon kings and earls, and an archbishop, whose see is not mentioned. There is also an obit (3 *id. Dec.*) which supplies another proof if any were wanting, that anciently the office of churchwarden was filled by a person in holy orders. In the following copy, the more remarkable obits are retained, whenever they do not interfere with the useful parts of the kalendar. This kalendar contains a great number of English Saints, whose names are, for the most part, carefully entered in Saxon characters, all the rest being in the common Normanno-Saxon hand, which differs but little from the Roman print of the present day. The writing which is very small and neat, has almost faded from the vellum in consequence of too much sulphate of iron entering into the composition of the ink.* Each month has the same verse at the head as the preceding, and generally supplies another reading. A table of years of Christ, epacts, concurrents, &c. beginning with 978 and ending with 1097, seems to fix the date of composition between those years. The writer has ascribed the work in the following inartificial ciphers before the rule for concurrents, *(fo. 12 b.)* to brother Elsinus, a monk:—

Fnbtfn hxmkllmuꝛ ꝛt mpnbchxꝛ Ælꝛknxꝛ mꝑ ꝛcnkpꝛkt ꝛkt kllk lpnȝb ꝛblxꝛ Bmꝑn.

That is,—*Frater humillimus et monachus Ælsinus me scripsit. Sit illi longa salus. Amen.*

* The ink of some Saxon MSS. which has stood the test of ten centuries, is almost as black as the best of modern times.

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KAL. COTT. TITUS, D. XXVII.

JANUARY.

Principium iani Sancit tropicus Capricornus.
IANUAR. habet dies .XXX. Luna .XXX.

1	III	A	KL. IAN.	Circumcisio Domini. *Obit' fr'is n'ri* Ælfpici pac. ᵭecani.
2		B	IIII n:	Octaue S'ci Stephani protomart.
3	XI	C	III n	Octaue S'ci Iohannis eu'g'l'te. *Obit' fr'is n'ri* Boca
4		D	II n	Octaue S'corum Innocentum
5	XIX	F	NON.	S'ci Simeonis monachi. Obit' Leofpini pac.
6	VIII	F	VIII id.	Epiphania Domini
7		G	VII id.	
8	XVI	A	VI id.	
9	V	B	V id.	Transl. S'ci Iudoci.
10		C	IIII id.	S'ci Pauli primi heremite. *Obit* Ælfpici uerꝛia. *Obit'que fr'm n'rorum* Byꝛhꝛpici ⁊ pulfpini *D.*
11	XIII	D	III id.	
12	II	E	II id.	
13		F	IDVS.	Octauæ Epiphaniæ
14	X	G	XIX KL.	FEBR. Transl. S'ci Felicis in pincis.
15		A	XVIII kl.	S'ci Mauri abb.
16	XVIII	B	XVII kl.	S'ci Marcelli pp. ⁊ mar.
17	VII	C	XVI kl.	S'ci Antonii conf.
18		D	XV kl.	S'ce Priscæ uirg. Sol in Aquarium.
19	XV	E	XIIII kl.	Sc'i Branuualatoris conf.
20	III	F	XIII kl.	S'corum Fabiani & Sebastiani.
21		G	XII kl.	S'ce Agnetis uirg. *Obitus* Æðelpici paceꝛᵭ.
22	XII	A	XI kl.	S'ci Uincentii mar. *Obit'* Byꝛhꝛpice *diac.*
23	I	B	X kl.	
24		C	VIIII kl.	
25	VIIII	D	VIII kl.	Conuersio S'ci Pauli Ap'li. & S'ci P'iecti mar.
26		E	VII kl.	
27	XVII	F	VI kl.	
28	VI	G	V kl.	Oct. S'ce Agnetis uir.
29		A	IIII kl.	
30	VIII	B	III kl.	S'ce Balthildis Reginæ. *Obit' fr'is n'ri* Aiꝛgari.
31	III	C	II kl.	Nox horarum .XVI. Dies .VIII.

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FEBRUARY.

Mense nume in medio soli distat sidus Aquarii.
FEBRUAR. habet dies .XXVIII. Luna .XXIX.

1		D	KL. FEB.	S'ce Brigidæ uirg.
2	XI	E	IIII n.	Purificatio S'cæ Mariæ.
3	XIX	F	III n.	
4	VIII	G	II n.	*Obit'* Ælfnoð biscanı ⁊ Byrhtfoldi. p.
5		A	NON.	S'cæ Agathæ uirg.
6	XVI	B	VIII id.	S'corum Uedasti & Amandi. Obit' Ælfgari fac.
7	V	C	VII id.	Uerus initium habet dies .XCI.
8		D	VI id.	
9	XIII	E	V id.	
10	II	F	IIII id.	S'ce Scolasticæ uirg.
11		G	III id.	
12	X	A	II id.	
13		B	IDVS.	S'ce Eormenhildæ uirg. *Obitus* Æðelgari *archiep.*
14	XVIII	C	XVI KL. MAR.	
15	VII	D	XV kl.	Sol in Pisces.
16		E	XIIII kl.	S'ce Iulianæ uirg.
17	XV	F	XIII kl.	
18	III	G	XII kl.	
19		A	XI kl.	*Obit'* Ælfmæri fac. p'pot.
20	XII	B	X kl.	
21	I	C	VIIII kl.	
22		D	VIII kl.	Cathedræ S'ci Petri. Uer oritur.
23	VIIII	E	VII kl.	
24		F	VI kl.	S'ci Mathiæ Ap'li. Locus Bissexti.
25	XVII	G	V kl.	
26	VI	A	IIII kl.	
27		B	III kl.	
28	XIII	C	II kl.	

Nox hor. .XIV. Dies .X.

Anno bissexti lune Februarii mensis .XXX. computande sunt.

Luna quoque Martii .XXX. dies habeat sicut semper habet, ne paschalis lune ratio uacillet.

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MARCH.

Procedunt duplices in maria tempora pisces.
MARTIUS habet dies .XXXI. Luna .XXX.

1	III	D	KL. MAR.	Obit' Bɲihtno ᵭi.
2		E	VI n.	S'ci Ceaddan. *Obit'* Ælfɲɲini ᵭiac.
3	XI	F	V n.	
4		G	IIII n.	
5	XIX	A	III n.	
6	VIII	B	II n.	
7		C	NON.	Perpetuæ & Felicitatis Imma obiit regina.
8	XVI	D	VIII id.	Prima incensio luuæ paschalis.
9	V	E	VII id.	
10		F	VI id.	
11	XIII	G	V id.	
12	II	A	IIII id.	S'ci Gregorii papæ. *Obit'* Ælfȝaɲi ꝑac. iunȝo.
13		B	III id.	
14	X	C	II id.	Vltima Quadragesime Dominica.
15		D	IDVS.	*Obit'* Æþelnoðı. paᵵ. Ælfɲini mⁿ· abb.
16	XVIII	E	XVII KL.	AP'L.
17	VII	F	XVI kl.	*Obit'* Bẏɲhtolᵭi *abb.*
18		G	XV kl.	Passio S'ci Ɛaᵭɲeaɲᵭi reȝıꝛ ⁊ mar. Primus dies s'cli. Sol in Arietem.
19	XV	A	XIIII kl.	
20	IIII	B	XIII kl.	S'ci Cuþbeɲhtı ep'i.
21		C	XII kl.	S'ci Benedicti abb.
22	XII	D	XI kl.	Primum Pasca. Sedes Epactarum. *Obit'* Æðelȝaɲi ᵭiac.
23	I	E	X kl.	Adam creatus est.
24		F	VIIII kl.	Locus Concurrentium.
25	VIIII	G	VIII kl.	Adnuntiatio S'ce Mariæ.
26		A	VII kl.	
27	XVII	B	VI kl.	Resurrectio Xpi. *Obit'* Bẏɲhꝛini ꝑachrıte. *Obit'* Ɛaᵭꝑini
28	VI	C	V kl.	ᵭiac.
29		D	IIII kl.	
30	XIIII	E	III kl.	Hic obit' Leoꝼȝẏɲa sororis abb.
31	III	F	II kl.	Nox horarum .XII. Dies XII.

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APRIL.

Respicis Aprilis Aries frixee kalendas.
APRILIS habet dies .XXX. Luna XXIX.

1		G	KL. AP'L.	
2	XI	A	IIII n.	
3		B	III n.	
4	XIX	C	II n.	S'ce Ambrosii ep'i. Obit' fr'is n'ri Hugonis.
5	VIII	D	NON.	Vltima incensio Paschalis Lunæ. Obit' Pulppe ꝺiaconi.
6	XVI	E	VIII id.	
7	V	F	VII id.	*Obiꝺ' fr'is n'ri* Pulꝼrɪg. ꝛac.
8		G	VI id.	
9	XIII	A	V id.	
10	II	B	IIII id.	
11		C	III id.	S'ci Guþlaci anachoɲitæ. Obitur Pihtꝼini *sub d.*
12	X	D	II id.	
13		E	IDVS.	Sc'e Eufemiæ uirg. *Obit'* Æþelbẏɲhti ꝺiacon.
14	XVIII	F	XVIII KL. MAI.	S'corum Tiburtii. ⁊ Ualeriani. ⁊ Maximi. *Obit'* Oꝼꝼeaɲ.
15	VII	G	XVII kl.	
16		A	XVI kl.	
17	XV	B	XV kl.	Sol in Cancro.
18	IIII	C	XIIII kl.	Vltimus terminus Pasce. *Obit'* Æðelmaɲi ꝺuciꝼ.
19		D	XIII kl.	S'ci AƐlꝼhezi ep'i ⁊ maɲ.
20	XII	E	XII kl.	
21	I	F	XI kl.	
22		G	X kl.	Inuentio S'ci Dionisii sociorumq. eius. Obit' Pulꝼmaɲi ꝛac.
23	VIIII	A	VIIII kl.	S'ci Georgii mar. *Obit'* Æðelɲeꝺi *regis.*
24		B	VIII kl.	
25	XVII	C	VII kl.	S'ci Marci eu'gl'e. Ultimum Pascha. Et Letania Maior.
26	VI	D	VI kl.	
27		E	V kl.	
28	XIIII	F	IIII kl.	S'ci Vitalis mar.
29	III	G	III kl.	
30		A	II kl.	S'ci Ɛɲkenpalꝺi ep'i.

Nox horarum .X. Dies .XIIII.

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MAY.

Maius agenorei miratur cornua Tauri.
MAIUS habet dies .XXXI. Luna .XXX.

1	xi	B	KL. MAI.	Ap'lorum Philippi ⁊ Iacobi
2		C	vi n.	S'ci Athanasii ep'i.
3	xix	D	v n.	Inuent. S'ce Crucis, Alexandri, Euortii, ⁊ Theortoli, mart.
4	viii	E	iiii n.	
5		F	iii n.	Prima Ascensio D'ni ad Celos.
6	xvi	G	ii n.	S'ci Iohannis ante Portam Latinam. *Obiť* Þealþlæðe *abb.*
7	v	A	NON.	
8		B	viii id.	*Obiť* Ælþþini þac. ueþtia.
9	xiii	C	vii id.	Æstatis initium habet dies .XCI. *Hic obiit* Goðe. þ°. æ.
10	ii	D	vi id.	S'corum Gordiani ⁊ Epimachi.
11		E	v id.	
12	x	F	iiii id.	S'corum Nerei. Achillei. Pancratii.
13		G	iii id.	
14	xviii	A	ii id.	
15	vii	B	IDVS.	Prima Penecostes.
16		C	xvii KL.	IUN.
17	xv	D	xvi kl.	
18	iii	E	xv kl.	S'ce Aelfgiuæ reginæ. Sol in Geminos.
19		F	xiiii kl.	Dep. S'ci Dunstani archiep'i. ⁊ Potentianæ uirg. *Obitus* Æþþici m°. þict.°
20	xii	G	xiii kl.	
21	i	A	xii kl.	
22		B	xi kl.	
23	viiii	C	x kl.	*Obiť* Ælþmaþi þac. *Memoria* Ælþeþði ⁊ *aliorum multor.*
24		D	viiii kl.	*Obitus* Oþgaþi *abb.*
25	xvii	E	viii kl.	S'ci Urbani pp. ⁊ S'ci Alðelmi ep'i.
26	vi	F	vii kl.	
27		G	vi kl.	
28	viii	A	v kl.	*Obitus* Þulþþi.... *archiep'i,* ⁊ *fr's n'ri* Elþgaþi *p'sidis.*
29	iii	B	iiii kl.	
30		C	iii kl.	Obitus þn'iþ n'þi Eðelþini laici.
31	xi	D	ii kl.	S'ce Petronellæ uirg.

Nox horarum .VIII. Dies .XVI.

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JUNE.

Junius aequatos caelo uidet ire laconas.
IVNIUS habet dies .XXX. Luna XXIX.

1		E	KL. IVN.	S'ci Nichomedis mar.
2	XIX	F	IIII n.	S'corum Marcellini ⁊ Petri. *Obit' fr'is n'ri* Goꝺꝼıcı.*colt*.
3	VIII	G	III n.	
4	XVI	A	II n.	
5	V	B	NON.	S'corum Bonifacii mar. Dedicatio Basilicæ S'ce Mariæ.
6		C	VIII id.	
7	XIII	D	VII id.	
✠8	II	E	VI id.	Obıtuꝛ ꝑaꝛꝑacnuꝰ ꝛex.
9		F	V id.	S'corum Primi ⁊ Feliciani.
10	X	G	IIII id.	Dedicatio Monasterii Saluatoris Mundi. *Hic obit'* Aꝑelꝛıni p' p°.
11		A	III id.	S'ci Barnabæ Ap'li.
12	XVIII	B	II id.	Basilidis. Cirini. Naboris. Nazarii.
13	VII	C	IDVS.	Vltimum Pentecosten. *Obit'* Ælꝼꝛıcı. m.
14		D	XVIII KL. IVL.	S'ci Basilii ep'i.
15	XV	E	XVII kl.	Dep. S'ce Ꝺaꝼbuꝛgæ uirg. *Obit'* ꝼꝛ'm n'ꝛoꝛum Leaꝼꝛeꝼı. ⁊ Leoꝺulꝼı ꝛaceꝛꝺ.
16	IIII	F	XVI kl.	*Obit'* ꝼꝛ'm n'ꝛoꝛum Bẏꝛhtꝛıcı ⁊ Reꝛgıneꝛı.
17		G	XV kl.	Sol in Cancrum.
18	XII	A	XIIII kl.	S'corum Marci ⁊ Marcelliani.
19	I	B	XIII kl.	S'corum Geruasi et Protasii.
20		C	XII kl.	Solstitium Estiuale.
21	VIIII	D	XI kl.	S'ci Leufredi conf. *Obit' fr'is n'ri* Mægıneꝛı *s.*
22		E	X kl.	S'ci Albani mar. *Obit'* Ꝺaꝼꝛını ꝛac. ⁊ monuc.
23	XVII	F	VIIII kl.	S'ce Æꝑelꝺꝛẏꝺe uirg. Uigilia.
24	VI	G	VIII kl.	Natiuitas S'ci Iohannis Bapt.
25		A	VII kl.	
26	XIIII	B	VI kl.	S'corum Iohannis ⁊ Pauli.
27	III	C	V kl.	
28		D	IIII kl.	S'ci Leonis p'pæ. Vigilia.
29	XI	E	III kl.	Ap'lorum Petri ⁊ Pauli.
30		F	II kl.	S'ci Pauli Ap'li.

Nox horarum .VI. dies .XVIII.

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JULY.

Solstitio ardentis Cancri fert Iulius astrum.
IVLIVS habet dies .XXXI. Luna .XXX.

1	XIX	G	KL. IVL.	
2	VIII	A	VI n.	Dep. S'ci Spiþuni ep'i.
3		B	V n.	Obit' þulfrici .m°. pictoris.
4	XVI	C	IIII n.	Ordinat. ⁊ Transl. S'ci Martini ep'i.
5	V	D	III n	
6		E	II n	Oct' Ap'lorum Petri ⁊ Pauli.
7	XIII	F	NON.	S'ci Haedde e'pi.
8	II	G	VIII id.	S'ci Grimbaldi sac. Obitus EADGARI REGIS.
9		A	VII id.	
10	X	B	VI id.	S'corum .VII. Fratrum.
11		C	V id.	Transl. S'ci Benedicti abb.
12	XVIII	D	IIII id.	fac. fac.
13	VII	E	III id.	Obit' fr'm n'rorum Æþelmari. ⁊ Ælfrini.
14		F	II id.	Hic obit' Leofgiþ.
15	XV	G	IDUS.	Transl. S'ci Suuithuni ep'i.
16	IIII	A	XVII KL.	AGS. Obitus fr'is n'ri Godrini sacerdotis & monachi.
17		B	XVI kl.	S'ci Kenelmi mar. Dies caniculares incipiunt.
18	XII	C	XV kl.	Transl. S'ce Eadburgæ uirg. Sol in Leonem.
19	I	D	XIIII kl.	Obitus Byrhtrini fac. neaba.
20		E	XIII kl.	S'ci UUlmari conf.
21	VIIII	F	XII kl.	S'ce Praxedis uirg.
22		G	XI kl.	Obitus þulfrani. fac. cant°.
23	XVII	A	X kl.	S'ci Apollinaris ep'i & mar.
24	VI	B	VIIII kl.	S'ce Cristinæ uirg. Vigilia.
25		C	VIII kl.	S'ci Iacobi Ap'li. & Xpoferi mar.
26	XIIII	D	VII kl.	Turoldus.*
27	III	E	VI kl.	S'corum .VII. Dormientium. Hic obiit Eadzim sac.
28		F	V kl.	S'ci Pantaleonis mar.
29	XI	G	IIII kl.	Felicis. Simplicii. Faustini. Beatricæ.
30	XIX	A	III kl.	S'corum Abdon. ⁊ Sennen. Obit' Leofrici. fac. buga.
31		B	II kl.	

Nox horarum .VIII. dies .XVI.

* In a more recent hand.

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AUGUST.

Augustum mensem Leo fervidus igne perurit.
AUGUST' hab& dies .XXXI. Lun. .XXVIIII.

1	VIII	C	KL. AGS.	Ad uincula S'ci Petri. & Machab. & Dep. S'ci Aþelpoldi ep'i.
2	XVI	D	IIII n.	S'ci Stephani P'p. Obitus Ɛaƀpini sac.
3	V	E	III n.	Inuent. S'ci Stephani protomart. Obitus Ælfpeɲƀi sac.
4		F	II n.	
5	XIII	G	NON.	S'ci Oƒƒalƀi regis & mar.
6	II	A	VIII id.	S'corum Sixti. Felicissimi. & Agapiti.
7		B	VII id.	S'ci Donati ep'i & mar. Autumni initium habet dies .XCII.
8	X	C	VI id.	S'ci Ciriaci mar. Obit' Ælfpiȝ sac.
9		D	V id.	Vigilia.
10	XVIII	E	IIII id.	S'ci Laurentii mar.
11	VII	F	III id.	S'ci Tiburtii mar. Obit' Byɲhtnoƌi comitis.*
12		G	II id.	
13	XV	A	IDUS.	S'ci Ypoliti mar. Hic obiit Ælfpiȝ.
14	IIII	B	XIX KL.	SEP. S'ci Eusebii conf. Vigilia.
15		C	XVIII kl.	Assumptio S'ce Mariæ.
16	XII	D	XVII kl.	
17	I	E	XVI kl.	Oct. S'ci Laurentii mar. Obit' Ælfpeɲƀi sac. decani.
18		F	XV kl.	S'ci Agapiti mar. Sol in Virginem.
19	XIX	G	XIIII kl.	S'ci Magni mar.
20		A	XIII kl.	
21	XVII	B	XII kl.	
22	VI	C	XI kl.	S'corum Timothei & Simphoriani.
23		D	X kl.	Vigilia
24	XVIIII	E	VIIII kl.	S'ci Audoeni conf. S'ci Bartholomei ap'li.
25	III	F	VIII kl.	
26		G	VII kl.	Obit' Byɲhtpici ꝺeon.
27	XI	A	VI kl.	S'ci Rufi mar.
28	XIX	B	V kl.	S'ci Magni Augustini ep'i. & Hermetis mar.
29		C	IIII kl.	Decoll. S'ci Johannis Bapt. & Sabinæ uirg.
30	VIII	D	III kl.	S'corum Felicis & Adaucti.
31		E	II kl.	

Nox horarum .X. Dies .XIIII.

* Slain at the battle of Malden in 993. *Chron. Sax. ad Ann.* The fine poem on the "death of Byrhtnoth" is reprinted in Thorpe's *Analecta Saxon. p.* 121—130.

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SEPTEMBER.

Sidere uirgo tuo Bachum September opimat.
SEPTEMBER habet dies .XXX. Lun. XXX.

1	XVI	F	KL. SEP. S'ci Prisci mar.
2	V	G	IIII n.
3		A	III n. Obit' Ælfricı (pueri)
4	XIII	B	II n. Transl. S'ci Birini ep'i ⁊ Cuþbertı ep'orum.
5	II	C	NON. S'ci Berhtini abbatis. Dies Caniculares finiuntur.
6		D	VIII id.
7	X	E	VII id. Vigilia.
8		F	VI id. Natiuitas S'ce Mariæ. ⁊ S'ci Adriani mar.
9	XVIII	G	V id. S'ci Gorgonii mar.
10	VII	A	IIII id. Transl. S'ci Aþelpolꝺı ep'i.
11		B	III id. S'corum Proti ⁊ Iacincti. Obit' fr'm n'rorum Cynerert sac. ⁊ Þynrını sac. Obitq. Aðelpolꝺı ꝺıaconi.
12	XV	C	II id.
13	IIII	D	IDUS.
14		E	XVIII KL. OCT. Exalt. S'ce Crucis. Cornelii ⁊ Cipriani.
15	XII	F	XVII kl. S'ci Nicomedis mar. Obit' Byrhtrerðı sac.
16	VII	G	XVI kl. S'ce Euphemia uirg. Luciæ ⁊ Geminiani.
17		A	XV kl. S'ci Landberhti mar. Sol in Libram. Obit' fr'is n'ri Þulfını.
18	VIIII	B	XIIII kl. Obit' fr's n'ri Ælfmærı ep'i.
19		C	XIII kl. Obit' Ælfrını sac.
20	XII	D	XII kl. Vigilia.
21	VI	E	XI kl. S'ci Mathæi Ap'li ⁊ Euu'gle' Obit' Þulfðryþe abb.
22		F	X kl. S'ci Mauricii cum sociis suis.
23	XIIII	G	VIIII kl. Obit' Leofrını mona.
24	III	A	VIII kl.
25		B	VII kl.
26	XI	C	VI kl.
27	XIX	D	V kl. S'corum Cosmæ ⁊ Damiani.
28		E	IIII kl. Obit' Leofrtanı (laici)
29	VIII	F	III kl. S'ci Michaelis Archangeli.
30		G	II kl. S'ci Hieronymi pr'bt'i.

Nox horarum .XII. Dies .XII.

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OCTOBER.

Æquat & October tempore Libram.
OCTOBER habet dies .XXXI. Lun. .XXVIIII.

1	XVI	A	KL. OCT.	S'corum Remigii ⁊ Vedasti. Obit' Byrhtrici diac. Obit' Pulfrici sac.
2	V	B	VI n.	S'ci Leorlegarii ep'i ⁊ mar. Hic obiit Eadpig rex.
3	XIII	C	V n.	
4	II	D	IIII n.	Obiit Osuuardus fr'r n'r.
5		E	III n.	
6	X	F	II n.	Hic obiit Pulfpig sac. Obitque Eadpeapd diac.
7		G	NON.	S'ci Marci p'p Obitus Ælfrani diac.
8	XVIII	A	VIII id.	S'ci Ipigii conf.
9	VII	B	VII id.	S'corum Dionisii. Rustici. ⁊ Eleutherii.
10		C	VI id.	S'ci Paulini ep'i. Obitus sororis n're Ælfgife. Kanð.
11	XV	D	V id.	
12	IIII	E	IIII id.	S'ci Uulfridi ep'i.
13		F	III id.	
14	XII	G	II id.	S'ci Calesti p'p. ⁊ mar.
15	I	A	IDUS.	
16		B	XVII KL.	NOV. Octaue Dionisii sociorumque eius. Obitus Leofrini sac. ulla.
17	VIIII	C	XVI kl.	S'ce Aeþelðryþe uirg.
18		D	XV kl.	S'ci Luce Eu'gl'te. ⁊ S'ci Iusti mar. Sol in Scorpionem.
19	XVII	E	XIIII kl.	Memr. Pulfnoði. ⁊ Æþelrini fr'm ⁊ aliorum multorum cum eis soccisorum.
20	VI	F	XIII kl.	
21		G	XII kl.	S'ci Hilarionis monachi Obit' Eadpeard [parui]
22	XIV	A	XI kl.	Obit' fr's n'ri Godric.
23	III	B	X kl.	Depositio S'ce Æþelfleðe uir.
24		C	VIIII kl.	
25	XI	D	VIII kl.	S'corum Crispini & Crispiniani.
26	XIX	E	VII kl.	Hic obit Ælfred rex. Obit' Ælfnoði sac.
27		F	VI kl.	Obit' Æþelrani regis. Vigilia.
28	VIII	G	V kl.	Ap'lorum Simonis ⁊ Iude. Hic obiit Ælfryn. s. Obitus Byrnrani sac.
29		A	IIII kl.	Obit' Leofrini m°.
30	XVI	B	III kl.	
31	V	C	II kl.	S'ci Quintini mar.

Nox horarum .XIIII. dies .X.

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NOVEMBER.

Scorpius hibernia preceps iubet ire Nouember.
NOVEMB. habet dies .XXX. Luna .XXX.

1		D	KL. NOV.	Omnium S'corum.
2	XIII	E	IIII n.	S'ci Eustachii cum sociis suis. Obitus Æþelnoþi abb.
3	II	F	III n.	
4		G	II n.	S'ci Byrnstani ep'i.
5	X	A	NON.	
6		B	VIII id.	
7	XVIII	C	VII id.	Hiemis initium habet ·XCI.
8	VII	D	VI id.	S'corum .IIII^{or}. Coronatorum. Obit' Byrnþeriði sac.
9		E	V id.	S'ci Theodori mar. Obit' Þilitrini sac. ⁊ þr. nr. Berа.
10	XV	F	IIII id.	Obit' Þulþgari m°.
11	IIII	G	III id.	S'ci Martini ep'i. ⁊ Menne mar.
12		A	II id.	Obitus Cnuᵭ rex.
13	XII	B	IDUS.	S'ci Bricii ep'i.
14	I	C	XVIII KL. DEC.	
15		D	XVII kl.	S'ci Machloni conf.
16	VIIII	E	XVI kl.	
17		F	XV kl.	S'ci Aniani ep'i. Sol in Sagittarium. Obit' Æþelnoði sac. Obitq. Ælfþryð mar. Æþelreᵭi reɣir.
18	XVII	G	XIIII kl.	
19	VI	A	XIII kl.	
20		B	XII kl.	S'ci Eadmundi regis ⁊ mar.
21	XIIII	C	XI kl.	Oblatio S'ce Mariæ in te'plo d'ni cu' e'& triium anno'
22	III	D	X kl.	S'ce Ceciliæ uirg. Obit' Byrnhþeriði m°.
23		E	VIIII kl.	S'ci Clementis p'p. ⁊ mar. Obit' þ'rir n'ri Þulþrici.
24	XI	F	VIII kl.	S'ci Crisogoni mar. Ælþrin' uita' liquit hic abba caᵭ.
25	XIX	G	VII kl.	Hic obiit Þulþrinn mat. Ælþrini abb.
26		A	VI kl.	S'ci Lini p'p ⁊ mar.
27	VIII	B	V kl.	Obit' Þulþrici. m. sac. Obit' Byrnhþeriði sac.
28		C	IIII kl.	
29	XVI	D	III kl.	S'ci Saturnini mar. Uigilia.
30	V	E	II kl.	S'ci Andreæ Ap'li. Obit' Byrntrici sac. blaca.

Nox horarum .XVI. Dies .VIII.

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DECEMBER.

Terminat Arcitenens medio sua signa Decembri.
DECEMB. habet dies .XXXI. Luna .XXVIIII.

1		F	KL. DEC.	S'corum Crissanti ⁊ Darie.
2	XIII	G	IIII n.	Primus Embolismus.
3	II	A	III n.	Dep. S'ci Byrini ep'i.
4	X	B	II n.	S'ci Benedicti. Obit' Ea'dr'tani sac.
5		C	NON.	
6	XVIII	D	VIII id.	
7	VII	E	VII id.	Octave Andræ Ap'li. Obitus Ælfrici. diac. mancynn.
8		F	VI id.	Conceptio S'ce Dei Genetricis Marie.
9	XV	G	V id.	Hic requieuit abbas Ælfnodus honestc.
10	IIII	A	IIII id.	S'ce Eulaliæ uirg.
11		B	III id.	S'ci Damasi p'p. Obitus Byrhtrini. sacer'd. cyricper'd.
12	XII	C	II id.	
13	I	D	IDVS.	S'ci Iudoci conf. ⁊ S'ce Luciæ uirg.
14		E	XIX KL.	IAN.
15	VIIII	F	XVIII kl.	
16		G	XVII kl.	
17	XVII	A	XVI kl.	
18	VI	B	XV kl.	Sol in Capricornum. Obitus Lyuuingi sac.
19		C	XIIII kl.	
20	XIV	D	XIII kl.	Obit' fr'm n'ror. Alfrilei m°. ⁊ Pulfnodi sac.
21	III	E	XII kl.	S'ci Thome Ap'li. Solstitium Brumale.
22		F	XI kl.	
23	XI	G	X kl.	
24	XIX	A	VIIII kl.	Vigilia.
25		B	VIII kl.	Natiuitas D'ni n'ri. I H U. X P I.
26	VIII	C	VII kl.	Natale S'ci Stephani protomar.
27		D	VI kl.	Assumptio S'ci Iohannis Eu'glte. Obit' Ælfnodi fr.
28	XVI	E	V kl.	Natale S'corum Innocentum.
29	V	F	IIII kl.	
30		G	III kl.	
31	XIII	A	II kl.	S'ci Siluestri p'p. Obit' Byrhtrini sac.

Nox horarum .XVIII. dies .VI.

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THE kalendar, published by Pinius and regarded by him as very ancient, seems to be more recent than any of the preceding.* After the account of Runic Almanacs, by Olaus Wormius, in his *Monumenta Danica*, it is unnecessary to say anything. The specimen of a Clog or rather a Log Almanac, originally published by Dr. Plot, was engraved by Mr. Hone, in his Every Day Book; and Mr. Gough, in his edition of Camden, has published the specimen of another. It may be here mentioned that two very perfect almanacs of this kind are preserved in the Chetham or College Library of Manchester.

Of Germanic kalendars, the most ancient appears to be that published by Beckius, in 1687, under the title of the Martyrology of the Germanic Church, a kalendar of Strasburg or of Augsburg, of which it has been remarked that the age is not higher than the tenth century, because St. Ulric, who died in 973 and was canonized in 993, is there first mentioned. It is not improbable that the kalendar published by Schilter in his Teutonic Antiquities from a MS. of the 13th century, is considerably older; for the 1st day of January is not called the day of the Circumcision but the Octave of Christ. The festivals are few in number, and those few are remarkable for the corruptions of some proper names, and translations of others, which have a whimsical effect: for instance, the festival of St. Agnes occurs as "Sanct Angenesen tag fe;" that of St. Sebastian is "Sanct Bastianis tag;" and St. John Chrysoston is rendered "Sanct Johans mit den gulden munde." The Epiphany which is properly the thirteenth day from Christmas, and was so called by the Icelanders, Danes, and other northern nations, is named as among the Anglo-Saxons the Twelfth Day: and its octave is the Twentieth Day, "Der zwengeste tag," or the last day of Christmas.†

* Lib. cit. supra.

† Schilt. Thesaur. Antiq. Teutonicorum. Tom. II. *art.* Kalend. Alemannicum ex Cod. MS. Seculi XIII descriptum." p. 70.

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The ancient kalendar of Salisbury, written in the 14th century, and preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum* was several times published in the 16th century, under the title of "*Portiforium Sarisburiense,*" and is, therefore, too well known to need further notice. Since that period no kalendar has appeared combining the ecclesiastical and historical computations of our ancestors, with that authenticity which is absolutely indispensable for legal and historical purposes. On this account the following kalendars have been selected, and it is presumed, the whole will furnish a copious catalogue of festivals of Saints, particularly English, which will suffice for all ordinary ends.

The first is a kalendar in the Harleian Collection, elegantly written in a hand much resembling Normanno Saxon. This is said to be of the age of Henry II. and to have belonged to the church of Exeter, of which the feast of relics occurs among the very few festivals that it contains.† There is in the Cotton Collection a kalendar of the same age, which belonged to the church of Winchester. Some festivals not contained in the Exeter kalendar are inserted in italics from a kalendar which belonged to the church of Durham, and which is said in the catalogue of MSS. to be very ancient.‡ It cannot, however, be older than the 14th century, for in the obituary of the cathedral, is the death of Richard II. *(fo. 12 b.)* The mnemonical verses at the bottom of each page are transcribed from this kalendar. It will be seen that they consist of the first syllables of the Saints' names, whose festivals were observed in that month.

The Norman French kalendar which concludes the collection, seems to be of about the same age as the Durham, or is perhaps a little older; and also to have belonged to the church of Ludlow, in Shropshire.§

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* Missale ad usum Ecclesiæ Sarum; cum Calendario Sæculo XIV exaratum. *Lansdowne MSS. Cod.* 432.

† Harl. MSS. Cod. 863.

‡ Harl. MSS. Cod. 1804.

§ Harl. MSS. Cod. 273.

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KALENDARIUM EXONIENSE.

JANUARY.

1	III	A	KL. JAN.	Circumcisio Domini. Dies Mala. *Cap.*
2		b	iiij n.	Oct. S. Stephani.
3	XI	c	ij n.	Oct. S. Johannis.
4		d	ij n.	Oct. S. Innocentium.
5	XIX	e	NON.	Oct. S Thome Archiep'iscopi
6	VIII	f	viij id.	Epiphania Domini.
7		g	vij id.	
8	XVI	A	vj id.	
9	V	b	v id.	
10		c	iiij id.	S'ci Pauli primi Heremite, &c.
11	XIII	d	iij id.	
12	II	e	ij id.	*Sancti Benedicti. Weremue.*
13		f	IDUS.	Oct. Epiphanie. *Cap.* Hilarii & Remigii.
14	X	g	xix KL. FEB.	Scorum confessorum Felicis in pincis & Felicis presbyteri.
15		A	xviij kl.	Sancti Mauri abbatis.
16	XVIII	b	xvij kl.	Sancti Marcelli Papæ & Martyris.
17	VII	c	xvj kl.	S. Antonii abb. & conf. Sulpicii Episc. *Primus terminus* LXX.
18		d	xv kl.	S'cæ Prisce uirginis & martyris.
19	XV	e	xiiij kl.	S. Marii, Marthe, Audifax & Abacuc m.
20	III	f	xiij kl.	S. Fabiani et Sebastiani martyrum.
21		g	xij kl.	S. Agnetis uirginis & martyris.
22	XII	A	xj kl.	S. Vincentii martyris.
23	I	b	x kl.	S. Emerantiane uirginis & mar.
24		c	ix kl.	S. Babille Sociorumque ejus.
25	IX	d	viij kl.	Conuersio S. Pauli. S. Præjecti mart.
26		e	vij kl.	S. Policarpi episc. et mart.
27	XVII	f	vj kl.	S. Juliani episc. & conf.
28	VI	g	v kl.	S. Agnetis secundo.
29		A	iiij kl.	
30	XIIII	b	iij kl.	S. Bathildis Regine.
31	III	c	ij kl.	

Cisio Ianus Epi super adde Ben Hil Fe Mau M'cel.
Prisca Fab Ag Vin Em Pauli Iul Agne sancte.

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FEBRUARY.

1		d	KL. FEBR.	Seueri episc. & mart. Ignati mart. Brigide *uirg.*
2	XI	e	iiij n.	Purificatio S. Marie uirginis.
3	XIX	f	iij n.	S. Blasii episc. & mart.
4	VIII	g	ij n.	
5		A	NON.	S. Agathe uirginis et martyris.
6	XVI	b	viij id.	S. Vedasti & Amandi episcoporum.
7	V	c	vij id.	*Veris inicium sc. grec.*
8		d	vj id.	*Primum* xl.
9	XIII	e	v id.	
10	II	f	iiij id.	Ş. Scholastice uirg. Austreberte virg.
11		g	iij id.	
12	X	A	ij id.	*Hic incipiunt aues cantare.*
13		b	IDUS.	
14	XVIII	c	xvj KL. MARCII.	Ualentini presb. & mart.
15	VIII	d	xv kl.	*Sol in Pisse.*
16		e	xiiij kl.	S. Juliane V. & mart.
17	XV	f	xiij kl.	
18	III	g	xij kl.	
19		A	xj kl.	
20	XII	b	x kl.	
21	I	c	ix kl.	
22		d	viij kl.	Cathedra Sancti Petri. *Ver oritur.*
23	IX	e	vij kl.	
24		f	vj kl.	Sancti Mathie Apostoli. *Locus bissext.*
25	XVII	g	v kl.	
26	VI	A	iiij kl.	
27		b	iij kl.	
28	XIII	c	ij kl.	

Memento quod anno bissextili Luna Februarij mensis XXX dies habet sicut semper habet XXX ne Paschalis Lune ratio vacillet.

Nota.—Ubicunque prima Luna fuerit post festum S. Agathæ prima Dominica sequens erit Dominica Quadragesima.

Nota.—Si bissextus fuerit quarta die a Cathedra S. Petri inclusive fiat festum S. Matthiæ.—*Portifor. Sarisbur.*

Brig. pur Blas Ag Ve Fruo Scolastica valent
Jul Com'getur cum Pet Math societur
Quarta dat octauam dat dena p'nom

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MARCH.

1	III	d	KL. MAR.	Sancti Dauidis episcopi.	
2		e	vj n.	*Cedde ep'i.*	
3	XI	f	v n.		
4		g	iiij n.		
5	XIX	A	iij n.	Kerani episcopi & confessoris mart.	
6	VIII	b	ij n.		
7		c	NON.		
8	XVI	d	viij id.	*Prima incensio.*	
9	V	e	vij id.		
10		f	vj id.		
11	XIII	g	v id.	Oswyni m'r. *Claues Pasche.*	
12	II	A	iiij id.	Gregorii Pape.	
13		b	iij id.		
14	X	c	ij id.	*Ultimum ieiunium.*	
15		d	IDUS.		
16	XVIII	e	xvij KL. APRIL.		
17	VII	f	xvj kl.	*Patricii.*	
18		g	xv kl.	Edwardi Regis et mart.	
19	XV	A	xiiij kl.		
20	IIII	b	xiij kl.	*Deposicio* S. Cuthberti episcopi.	
21		c	xij kl.	S. Benedicti abbatis. *Equinoc.*	XVI
22	XII	d	xj kl.	*Sedes Epactarum*	V
23	I	e	x kl.	*Adam creatus.*	
24		f	ix kl.	*Concurrencium Locus*	XIII
25	IX	g	viij kl.	*Annunciatio Dominica*	II
26		A	vij kl.		
27	XVII	b	vj kl.	Resurrectio Domini *(Christi)* prima	X
28	VI	c	v kl.		
29		d	iiij kl.		XVIII
30	XIIII	e	iij kl.		VII
31	III	f	ij kl.		

Nota quod ubicunque numerus aureus niger invenitur* sine dubio in dominica proxima sequente Dies Paschæ celebratur.—*Portif.*

* Nempe, in altera serie.

Mar. Cæd. in ordine Perpetue Os. Gregor. tibi festum.
Istis Cuth. Benedict. †Matris Sanctificate.

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APRIL.

1		g	KL. APRIL.		XV
2	XI	A	iiij n.		IIII
3		b	iij n.		
4	XIX	c	ij n.	Sancti Ambrosii episcopi	XII
5	VIII	d	NON	*Ultima incensio*	I
6	XVI	e	viij id.		
7	V	f	vij id.		IX
8		g	vj id.		
9	XIII	A	v id.		XVII
10	II	b	iiij id.		VI
11		c	iij id.	*Guthlaci p'bi'ti.*	
12	X	d	ij id.		XIIII
13		e	IDUS.		III
14	XVIII	f	xviij KL.	MAII. S. Tiburcii & Valeriani mart.	
15	VII	g	xvij kl.		XI
16		A	xvj kl.		
17	XV	b	xv kl.	*Sol in Tauro.*	XIX
18	IIII	c	xiiij kl.	*Ultimus terminus Pasche*	VIII
19		d	xiij kl.	S. Elfegi Archiepisc. & mart.	
20	XII	e	xij kl.		
21	I	f	xj kl.	*Roma conditur.*	
22		g	x kl.		
23	IX	A	ix kl.	S. Georgii mart.	
24		b	viij kl.	*Uulfridi Archiep'i.*	
25	XVII	c	vij kl.	S. Marci Ew [angelista.]	
26	VI	d	vj kl.	*Primum Rogac.*	
27		e	v kl.		
28	XIIII	f	iiij kl.	S. Vitalis mart.	
29	III	g	iij kl.	*Claves Pent.*	
30		A	ij kl.		

Ponitur Ambrosius in April. Guthlacique Tiburci
Et post Elphegusque Ge. Will. Marcique Vitalis.
Dene prima premit. vnde ne vndena pereant.

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MAY.

1	xi	b	KL. MAII.	Apostolorum Philippi & Jacobi.
2		c	vj n.	S. Athanasii episc. & conf.
3	xix	d	v n.	Inventio S. Crucis. Alexandri, Eventii & Theod.
4	viii	e	iiij n.	
5		f	iij n.	*Ascensio D'ni in Cœlum.*
6	xvi	g	ij n.	Johannis ante Portam Latinam.
7	v	A	NON.	
8		b	viij id.	
9	xiii	c	vij id.	
10	ii	d	vj id.	S. Gordiani & Epimachi mart.
11		e	v id.	
12	x	f	iiij id.	S. Nerei Achillei & Pancracii.
13		g	iij id.	
14	xviii	A	ij id	
15	vii	b	IDUS.	
16		c	xvij KL. JUNII.	
17	xv	d	xvj kl.	*Sol in Gem'is.*
18	iii	e	xv kl.	
19		f	xiiij kl.	S. Dunstani archiepisc. Potentiane uirg.
20	xii	g	xiij kl.	
21	i	A	xij kl.	*Godrici he'mite.*
22		b	xj kl.	Festum Reliquarum Ecclesie Beati Petri Exon.
23	ix	c	x kl.	*Ultimus terminus Rogac.*
24		d	ix kl.	S. Donationi & Rogatione mart. *Estatis inicium.*
25	xvii	e	viij kl.	S. Urbani Pape & mart. S. Aldelmi ep & conf.
26	vi	f	vij kl.	S. Augustini Anglorum Apostoli, & Bede presbyt.
27		g	vj kl.	*Com. Bede.*
28	xiiii	A	v kl.	S. Germani episc.
29	iii	b	iiij kl.	
30		c	iij kl.	Ultime Rogacion.
31	xi	d	ij kl.	S. Petronille uirginis.

Phip. at Crux Maij. Io. Io. Nic. Gordi Nereusque
Postea Duns sequitur simul Urb. Au. Be. Pet. p'.

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JUNE.

1		e	KL. JUNII.	
2	XIX	f	iiij n.	S. Marcellini et Petri mart.
3	VIII	g	iij n.	
4	XVI	A	ij n.	S. Petroci Conf.
5	V	b	NON.	S. Bonifacii episc. Sociorumque eius mart.
6		c	viij id.	
7	XIII	d	vij id.	*Ultimus terminus.*
8	II	e	vj id.	S. Medardi & Gildardi episcoporum. Will'mi archiepi.
9		f	v id.	S. Primi & Feliciani mart.
10	X	g	iiij id.	
11		A	iij id.	S. Barnabe Apostoli.
12	XVIII	b	ij id.	S. Basilidis, Cirini, Naboris & Nazarii mart.
13	VII	c	IDUS.	S. Felicule V. et M. *Ultimus Pent.*
14		d	xviij KL. JULII.	S. Basilii Magni episcopi.
15	XV	e	xvij kl.	S. Viti, Modesti & Crescentis mart.
16	IIII	f	xvj kl.	S. Cirici & Julitte mart.
17		g	xv kl.	S. Nectani mart & Botulfi Conf. *abb'is.*
18	XII	A	xiiij kl.	S. Marci & Marcelliani.
19	I	b	xiij kl	S. Geruasii & Prothasii mart.
20		c	xij kl.	
21	IX	d	xj kl.	S. Leofridi abbat. & Conf.
22		e	x kl.	S. Albani mart.
23	XVII	f	ix kl.	S. Etheldrithe virg.
24	VI	g	viij kl.	Natiuitas S. Johannis Bapt.
25		A	vij kl.	
26	XIIII	b	vj kl.	S. Johannis & Pauli mart.
27	III	c	v kl.	
28		d	iiij kl.	S. Leonis Pape.
29	XI	e	iij kl.	Apostolorum Petri & Pauli.
30		f	ij kl.	Commemoracio Sancti Pauli.

En Mar. et in Junio Will. Primi. Bar. Basi. Ba Vi.
Ci. Bo. Ger. Alb. Eth Nati. Ionque Le. Pe Pau.
Dene Sexta minans vndene quarta suspirans.

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JULY.

1	XIX	g	KL. JULII.	Oct. S. Johannis. Teobaldi. *Karilefi.*
2	VIII	A	vj n.	S. Swithuni conf. Processi and Martiniani mart.
3		b	v n.	
4	XVI	c	iiij n.	Transl. S. Martini & ordinatio eiusdem.
5	V	d	iij n.	
6		e	ij n.	Oct. Apostolorum.
7	XIII	f	NON.	S. Hedde episc. Translacio S. Thome Archiepisc. et mart.
8	II	g	viij id.	S. Grimbaldi. *Com. Bosili.*
9		A	vij id.	
10	X	b	vj id.	Sanctorum VII Fratrum martyrum.
11		c	v id.	Translacio S. Benedicti.
12	XVIII	d	iiij id.	
13	VII	e	iij id.	S. Mildride virg.
14		f	ij id.	*Dies Caniculares incipiunt.*
15	XV	g	IDUS.	Transl. S. Swithuni episc.
16	IIII	A	xvij KL. AUGUSTI.	
17		b	xvj kl.	S. Alexii & Kenelmi mart.
18	XII	c	xv kl.	Arnulfi episc. & martiris. *Sol in Leone. Oct. B'n'dicti.*
19	I	d	xiiij kl.	Arsenii abbatis & confessoris.
20		e	xiij kl.	S. Margarete V. & M.
21	IX	f	xij kl.	S. Praxedis V. Victoris M.
22		g	xj kl.	S. Marie Magdalene. Wandragisili abbatis.
23	XVII	A	x kl.	S. Apollinaris episc. & mart.
24	VI	b	ix kl.	S. Cristine V. & M.
25		c	viij kl.	S. Jacobi Apost. Christoferi & Cucufacis m.
26	XIIII	d	vij kl.	
27	III	e	vj kl.	Septem Dormientium.
28		f	v kl.	S. Pantaleonis m. Samsonis episc.
29	XI	g	iiij kl.	S. Felicis & Simplicii & aliorum mart.
30	XIX	A	iij kl.	Abdon & Sennen mart.
31		b	ij kl.	S. Germani episc. Neoti conf.

Ka. Proci. Mar. Iuli. Tho. Bosi. Fra. Benedicque Swythuni
Ei. Bo. Mar. Ger. abhinc Al. Eth. Jo. Baptist. Ioes. Le Pe. Pan.

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AUGUST.

1	VIII	c	KL. AUG.	Ad Vincula S. Petri. Machabeorum mart. Aldwoldi episc. & Satiuole.
2	XVI	d	iiij n.	S. Stephani Pape & mart.
3	V	e	iij n.	Inuencio S. Stephani protomartiris
4		f	ij n.	
5	XIII	g	NON.	S. Oswaldi Regis et mart.
6	II	A	viij id.	Sixti Felicissimi & Agapiti mart. *Transfiguracio D'ni.*
7		b	vij id.	S. Donati episc. & mart. *Festum no'is Ihu.*
8	X	c	vj id.	S. Ciriaci Sociorumque eius mart.
9		d	v id.	S. Romani mart.
10	XVIII	e	iiij id.	Laurentii mart.
11	VII	f	iij id.	S. Tiburtii mart. Taurini episc.
12		g	ij id.	*Oct. Oswaldi.*
13	XV	A	IDUS.	S. Ypoliti mart.
14	IIII	b	xix KL. SEPT.	Eusebii presbyteri. *Oct. no'is iesu.*
15		c	xviij kl.	Assumptio S. Marie.
16	XII	d	xvij kl.	Arnulfi episc. & conf.
17	I	e	xvj kl.	Oct. S. Laurentii.
18		f	xv kl.	S. Agapiti martiris.
19	IX	g	xiiij kl.	S. Magni mart
20		A	xiij kl.	S. Philiberti abbatis. *Oswyni Regis.*
21	XVII	b	xij kl.	
22	VI	c	xj kl.	Oct. S. Marie. Timothei & Symphoriani.
23		d	x kl.	S. Timothei & Apollinaris.
24	XIIII	e	ix kl.	S Bartholomei Apost. S. Audonei episc.
25	III	f	viij kl.	*Ebbe uirginis.*
26		g	vij kl.	
27	XI	A	vj kl.	S. Rufi martyris.
28	XIX	b	v kl.	S Augustini episc. Hermetis Mart.
29		c	iiij kl.	Decollatio S. Johannis Bapt. Sabine V.
30	VIII	d	iij kl.	S. Felicis & Adaucti mart. Rumoni.
31		e	ij kl.	Paulini & Aidani episcoporum.

Pe. Steph. Steph. Au. Os. trans. No. Cir. Ro. Lau. Tibur. Ypol.
Sumpta Dat. Ag. Mag. Oswy. Timo. Bar Ebbe. Ruf. Au. Io. Fel. Ayd.

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SEPTEMBER.

1	XVI	f	KL. SEP.	Egidii abbat. Prisci mart.
2	V	g	iiij n.	Antonini mart.
3		A	iij n.	Ordinacio S. Gregorii.
4	XIII	b	ij n.	Transl. S. Cuthberti episc. & conf.
5	II	c	NON.	Bertini abbatis. *Dies caniculares fin.*
6		d	viij id.	
7	X	e	vij id.	Euurtii episcopi
8		f	vj id.	Natiuitas S. Marie. *Adriani.*
9	XVIII	g	v id.	Gorgonii mart. *Georgii m'r.**
10	VII	A	iiij id.	
11		b	iij id.	S. Proti & Jacincti mart. *Oct. S. Cuthb'ti.*
12	XV	c	ij id.	
13	III	d	IDUS.	
14		e	xviij KL.	OCT. Exaltatio S. Crucis. Cornelii & Cipriani mart.
15	XII	f	xvij kl.	Oct. S. Marie. Nicomedis mart.
16	I	g	xvj kl.	Lucie Geminiani & Eufemie mart. *Edithe v.*
17		A	xv kl.	Lamberti episc. & mart.
18	IX	b	xiiij kl.	
19		c	xiij kl.	
20	XVII	d	xij kl.	VIGIL. *Equinoccium sec'd'm gregos.*
21	VI	e	xj kl.	S. Mathei Apost. Laudi episc.
22		f	x kl.	Mauritii sociorumque eius mart.
23	XIIII	g	ix kl.	Tecle uirginis
24	III	A	viij kl.	*Locus indictus equinoc. secd'.* XVIII.
25		b	vij kl.	S. Firmini episc. & mart.
26	XI	c	vj kl.	S. Cipriani episc. & mart. & Justine V. & M.
27	XIX	d	v kl.	S. Cosme & Damiani.
28		e	iiij kl.	S. Exuperi episc. & conf.
29	VIII	f	iij kl.	S. Michaelis Archangeli.
30		g	ij kl.	S. Jerononimi presbyteri.

Egi. Gre. Cuth. September. Nat. Gorgo. Prothi et crux.
Nic. Eu. Lam. postea Math. Mau. et Cosmas. Mich. Je.
Tertia lux terna nocet hora dena quaterna.

* Appears to be a mistake for *Gorgonii m'r.* as in the Exon.

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OCTOBER.

1	XVI	A	KL. OCT.	Germani Remigii Vedasti episcoporum.
2	V	b	vj n.	S. Leodegarii episc. & mart. *Thome Hereforden.*
3	XIII	c	v n.	Duorum Ewaldorum martyrum.
4	II	d	iiij n.	*(S. Francisci conf.)*
5		e	iij n.	
6	X	f	ij n.	S. Fidis uirginis & mart. *Ob. Pet. Exonien. Episc.*
7		g	NON.	Marci Marcelli & Apulei. Sergii & Bachi m. *Marci p'pe.*
8	XVIII	A	viij id.	S. Demetrii mart.
9	VII	b	vij id.	S. Dionisii Sociorumque eius.
10		c	vj id.	Gereonis Sociorumque eius mart. Paulini episc.
11	XV	d	v id.	S. Nigasii Sociorumque eius.
12	IIII	e	iiij id.	S. Wlfridi episc. & conf.
13		f	iij id.	
14	XII	g	ij id.	S. Kalixti Pape & mart.
15	I	A	IDUS.	Wlfranni episc. & conf.
16		b	xvij KL.	NOV. S. Michaelis Archangeli.
17	IX	c	xvj kl.	S. Etheldrethe uirg.
18		d	xv kl.	S. Luce Euug. Justi mart. *Sol in Scorpione.*
19	XVII	e	xiiij kl.	Fritheswithe V.
20	VI	f	xiij kl.	
21		g	xij kl.	Vndecim Milium Uirginum. *Hillarionis abb'is.*
22	XIIII	A	xj kl.	
23	III	b	x kl.	S. Romani et Seuerini episcoporum
24		c	ix kl.	
25	XI	d	viij kl.	S. Crispini & Crispiniani mart.
26	XIX	e	vij kl.	
27		f	vj kl.	Vigil.
28	VIII	g	v kl.	Apostolorum Simonis & Jude.
29		A	iiij kl.	Narcissi episc. & conf.
30	XVI	b	iij kl.	Germani Capuani episc.
31	V	c	ij kl.	S. Quintini.

Ger. Thoms. octo. Fi. Marque. Di. Paulin. Willque Calixti.
Et Luci. Fri. post illa Roma. Cris. Symonis Quinti.

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NOVEMBER.

1		d	KL. NOV.	Festiuitas Omnium Sanctorum.
2	XIII	e	iiij n.	Commemor. Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum. *Eustachii sociorq. eius.*
3	II	f	iij n.	S. Rumuuoldi conf.
4		g	ij n.	Birnstani episc. & conf.
5	X	A	NON.	
6		b	viij id.	S. Leonardi abb. & conf.
7	XVIII	c	vij id.	S. Willibrordi episc. & conf. *Hiemis inicium.*
8	VII	d	vj id.	Quatuor Coronatorum Martyrum.
9		e	v id.	Teodori martiris.
10	XV	f	iiij id.	S. Martini Pape & conf.
11	IIII	g	iij id.	S. Martini episc. & conf. Menne mart.
12		A	ij id.	
13	XII	b	IDUS.	S. Bricii episc. & conf.
14	I	c	xviij KL.	DEC.
15		d	xvij kl.	S. Macuti episc. & conf.
16	IX	e	xvj kl.	*Depositio S. Edmundi.*
17		f	xv kl.	S. Hugonis episc. & conf. Aniatii* ep. & conf. *Hilde uirg. Sol in Sagittar.*
18	XVII	g	xiiij kl.	Oct. S. Martini.
19	VI	A	xiij kl.	
20		b	xij kl.	S. Edmundi Regis & Mart.
21	XIIII	c	xj kl.	S. Columbani abb.
22	III	d	x kl.	S. Cecilie uirginis & mart.
23		e	ix kl.	S. Clementis Pape & mart. Felicitatis mart.
24	XI	f	viij kl.	S. Grisogoni mart.
25	XIX	g	vij kl.	S. Katerine uirginis & mart. *Locus saltus.*
26		A	vj kl.	S. Lini Pape & mart.
27	VIII	b	v kl.	*Primus Aduentus.*
28		c	iiij kl.	
29	XVI	d	iij kl.	S. Saturnini mart. Vigilia.
30	V	e	ij kl.	S. Andree Apostoli.

Sanct. Eust Nouembri Leo. Co. Theo. Marque Bricique
Ed. Hil. & huic Ed. rex Ce. Cle. Gris. Kate. quoque Sat. And.
Octauum quinta noni pede tercia quintam.

* Aniani.

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DECEMBER.

1		f	KL. DEC.	Crisanti & Darie mart.
2	XIII	g	iiij n.	
3	II	A	iij n.	S. Birini episc. *Ultimus Aduentus.*
4	X	b	ij n.	
5		c	NON.	
6	XVIII	d	viij id.	S. Nicolai episc. & conf.
7	VII	e	vij id.	Oct. S. Andree.
8		f	vj id.	
9	XV	g	v id.	
10	IIII	A	iiij id.	S. Eulalie uirginis.
11		b	iij id.	Damasi Pape & conf.
12	XII	c	ij id.	
13	I	d	IDUS.	S. Lucie V. & mart.
14		e	xix KL.	JAN.
15	IX	f	xviij kl.	
16		g	xvij kl.	S. Barbare V. & mart.
17	XVII	A	xvj kl.	*O sapiencia!*
18	VI	b	xv kl.	Sol in scorpione.
19		c	xiiij kl.	
20	XIIII	d	xiij kl.	
21	III	e	xij kl.	
22		f	xj kl.	
23	XI	g	x kl.	
24	XIX	A	ix kl.	Vigilia.
25		b	viij kl.	Natiuitas domini nostri Ihu. Xi. Anastasie V.
26	VIII	c	vij kl.	Passio S. Stephani.
27		d	vj kl.	S. Johannis Apostoli.
28	XVI	e	v kl.	Sanctorum Innocentium.
29	V	f	iiij kl.	Passio S. Thome archiepisc. & mart.
30		g	iij kl.	
31	XIII	A	ij kl.	S. Silvestri Pape.

Sunt in Decembro Nicho. Concept. Danaque Lucia.
O Sapienque Thomas modo Nat. Steph. Io. In. Tho. Sil.

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VET. KAL. GALLICE SCRIPTUM.
HARL. MS. 273.

JANUARY.

Prima dies mensis et VII[a] truncat ut ensis.

1	III	A	KL. IENIUEER. Le Circu'cision de n're Seignur.
2		b	IIII n. Les vtaues seint Esteuene.
3	XI	c	III n. Vtaues seint Johan le Eu'ngliste.
4		d	II n. Vtaues des seinz Jnnocens.
5	XIX	e	NON.
6	VIII	f	VIII id. Epiphanie de n're Seignur.
7		g	VII id.
8	XVI	A	VI id.
9	V	b	V id.
10		c	IIII id.
11	XIII	d	III id.
12	II	e	II id.
13		f	IDUS. Vtaues del Epiphanie. Seint Hyllere.
14	X	g	XIX KL. FEBRUAR.
15		A	XVIII kl. Seint Maurie abb. & conf.
16	XVIII	b	XVII kl. Seint Marcellin pape & martyr.
17	VII	c	XVI kl. Seint Antoine abb. & conf.
18		d	XV kl. Seinte Prisce virgine.
19	XV	e	XIIII kl. Seint Wolstan eueske.
20	III	f	XIII kl. Seint Fabian & Sebastian.
21		g	XII kl. Seinte Agnes uirg.
22	XII	A	XI kl. Sein Vincent mr.
23	I	b	X kl.
24		c	XI kl.
25	IX	d	VIII kl. Le Conuersion sein Paul.
26		e	VII kl.
27	XVII	f	VI kl. Seint Julian conf.
28	VI	g	V kl. Seinte Agnes la secunde.
29		A	IIII kl.
30	XIV	b	III kl.
31	III	c	II kl.

La nuit ad XVI owrs. & le iour VIII.

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FEBRUARY.

Quarta subit mortem, prosternit tertia fortem.

1		d	KL. FEBRUAIRE.	Seinte Bride uirgine. Vigl.
2	XI	e	IIII n.	La Purificacioun n're Dame.
3	XIX	f	III n.	Seint Blase eueske.
4	VIII	g	II n.	
5		A	NON.	Seinte Agate uirgine.
6	XVI	b	VIII id.	
7	V	c	VII id.	
8		d	VI id.	
9	XIII	e	V id.	
10	II	f	IIII id.	Seinte Scolace uirg.
11		g	III id.	
12	X	A	II id.	Le Translaceon seinte Freþeswide uirg.
13		b	IDUS.	Dedicacion de la Eglise seint Laurence de Lodelaw.
14	XVIII	c	XVI KL.	MARCH. Seint Valentin.
15	VII	d	XV kl.	
16		e	XIIII kl.	Seinte Juliane virg. & mar.
17	XV	f	XIII kl.	
18	III	g	XII kl.	
19		A	XI kl.	
20	XII	b	X kl.	
21	I	c	IX kl.	
22		d	VIII kl.	Seint Piere.
23	IX	e	VII kl.	Seinte Mileburge virgine.
24		f	VI kl.	
25	XVII	g	V kl.	
26	VI	A	IIII kl.	
27		b	III kl.	
28	XIII	c	II kl.	Seint Oswald arceueske.

La nuit ad XIIII oures & le iur X.

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MARCH.

Primus mandantem. disrumpit IIII bibentem.

1	III	d	KL. MARCH.	Seint Dauid eueske.
2		e	VI n	Seint Chadde eueske.
3	XI	f	V n.	
4		g	IIII n	
5	XIX	A	III n.	
6	VIII	b	II n.	
7		c	NON.	
8	XVI	d	VIII id.	
9	V	e	VII id.	
10		f	VI id.	
11	XIII	g	V id.	
12	II	A	IIII id.	Seint Gregoire pape.
13		b	III id.	
14	X	c	II id.	
15		d	IDUS.	
16	XVIII	e	XVII KL.	DE AUERIL.
17	VII	f	XVI kl.	
18		g	XV kl.	Seint Edward roy & mr.
19	XV	A	XIIII kl.	
20	IV	b	XIII kl.	Seint Cuthbert eueske.
21		c	XII kl.	Seint Benet abbe.
22	XII	d	XI kl.	
23	I	e	X kl:	
24		f	IX kl.	
25	IX	g	VIII kl.	Le Annunciation de n're Dame.
26		A	VII kl.	
27	XVII	b	VI kl.	La Resurrection de n're Seignur.
28	VI	c	V ki.	
29		d	IIII kl.	
30	XIV	e	III kl.	
31	III	f	II ki.	

La nuit ad XII oures & le iur XII.

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APRIL.

Denus & undenus est mortis uulnere plenus.

1		g	KL. AUERIL.
2	XI	A	IIII n. Seinte Marie Egyptiane.
3		b	III n.
4	XIX	c	II n. Seint Ambrose eueske & confess.
5	VIII	d	NON.
6	XVI	e	VIII id.
7	V	f	VII id.
8		g	VI id.
9	XIII	A	V id.
10	II	b	IIII id.
11		c	III id. Seint Guthlak eueske.
12	X	d	II id.
13		e	IDUS.
14	XVIII	f	XVIII KL. DE MAY. Seint Tyburce & Vallerian.
15	VII	g	XVII kl.
16		A	XVI kl.
17	XV	b	XV kl.
18	IIII	c	XIIII kl.
19		d	XIII kl.
20	XII	e	XII kl. Seint Victor pape.
21	I	f	XI kl.
22		g	X kl.
23	IX	A	IX kl. Seint George.
24		b	VIII kl.
25	XVII	c	VII kl. Seint Marc Eu'ngliste.
26	VI	d	VI kl.
27		e	V kl.
28	XIIII	f	IIII kl.
29	III	g	III kl.
30		A	II kl.

La nuit ad X oures. & le iur XIIII.

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MAY.

Tertius occidit & septimus ora residit.

1	XI	b	KL. MAY. Seint Phelip & seint Jacob apostles.
2		c	VI n. Seint Anestas eueske.
3	XIX	d	V n. La Inuencion de la seinte Croiz.
4	VIII	e	IIII n.
5		f	III n.
6	XVI	g	II n. Seint Johan deuant la Porte de Arseyn.
7	V	A	NON. Seint Johan de Beouerleye.
8		b	VIII id.
9	XIII	c	VII id.
10	II	d	VI id.
11		e	V id.
12	X	f	IIII id.
13		g	III id.
14	XVIII	A	II id.
15	VII	b	IDUS.
16		c	XVII KL. DE JUNIE.
17	XV	d	XVI kl.
18	IIII	e	XV kl.
19		f	XIIII kl. Seint Dunstane arceueske.
20	XII	g	XIII kl. Seint Ethelbert roy & mr.
21	I	A	XII kl.
22		b	XI kl.
23	IX	c	X kl.
24		d	IX kl.
25	XVII	e	VIII kl.
26	VI	f	VII kl. Seint Augustin eueske.
27		g	VI kl.
28	XIIII	A	V kl. Seint Germin eueske.
29	III	b	IIII kl.
30		c	III kl.
31	XI	d	II kl. Seinte Perenele uirgine & mr.

La nuit ad VIII oures, & le iur XVI.

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JUNE.

Denus pallescit quindenus federa nescit.

1		e	KL. IUNIE.	
2	XIX	f	IIII n.	Seint Marcellin & Petre mr.
3	XVIII	g	III n.	
4	XVI	A	II n.	
5	V	b	NON.	Seint Bonefas & ces compainons.
6		c	VIII id.	
7	XIII	d	VII id.	Translacion de seint Wolstan eueske.
8	II	e	VI id.	
9		f	V id.	Translacion de Seint Eadmund confessor.
10	X	g	IIII id.	
11		A	III id.	Seint Barnabe apostle.
12	XVIII	b	II id.	
13	VII	c	IDUS.	
14		d	XVIII KL.	DE IULIE.
15	XV	e	XVII kl.	
16	IIII	f	XVI kl.	
17		g	XV kl.	
18	XII	A	XIIII kl.	
19	I	b	XIII kl.	
20		c	XII kl.	Translacion de Seint Edward.
21	IX	d	XI kl.	
22		e	X kl.	Seint Alban martir.
23	XVII	f	IX kl.	Seinte Etheldride uirgine. Vigl.
24	VI	g	VIII kl.	La Natiuite seint Johan le Baptist.
25		A	VII kl.	
26	XIIII	b	VI kl.	Seint Johan & seint Paul mr.
27	III	c	V kl.	
28		d	IIII kl.	Seint Leoun pape & confess.
29	XI	e	III kl.	Seint Piere & seint Paul apostles.
30		f	II kl.	La Commemoracion de seint Paul

La nuit ad VI oures & le iur XVIII.

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JULY.

Tredecimus mactat Iulii denus labefactat.

1	XIX	g	KL IULII.	Vtaues de seint Johan le Baptist.
2	VIII	A	VI n.	
3		b	V n.	
4	XVI	c	IIII n.	Le Translacion de seint Martin.
5	V	d	III n.	
6		e	II n.	Vtaues de les Ap'les seint Piere & seint Paul.
7	XIII	f	NON.	Translacion de seint Thomas le martyr.
8	II	g	VIII id.	
9		A	VII id.	
10	X	b	VI id.	
11		c	V id.	Le Translacion seint Benett le abbe.
12	XVIII	d	IIII id.	
13	VII	e	III id.	
14		f	II id.	
15	XV	g	IDUS.	
16	IIII	A	XVII KL.	DE AUST.
17		b	XVI kl.	Seint Kenelm roy & martyr.
18	XII	c	XV kl.	
19	I	d	XIII kl.	
20		e	XIII kl.	Seinte Margerete
21	IX	f	XII kl.	
22		g	XI kl.	Seinte Marie Maugdeleine.
23	XVII	A	X kl.	
24	VI	b	IX kl.	Seinte Cristine uirgine & mr. Vigl.
25		c	VIII kl.	Seint Jame le Apostle.
26	XIIII	d	VII kl.	Seinte Anne la mere n're Dame.
27	III	e	VI kl.	
28		f	V kl.	Seint Samson eueske & conf.
29	XI	g	IIII kl.	
30	XIX	A	III kl.	
31		b	II kl	Seint Germaine eueske & conf.

La nuit ad VIII oures & le iur XVI.

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AUGUST.

Prima necat fortem strauitque secunda cohortem.

1	VIII	c	KL. AUGUSTUS. Aduincula s'ci Petri.
2	XVI	d	IIII n.
3	V	e	III n. La Inuencion de seint Esteuene.
4		f	II n.
5	XIII	g	NON. Seint Oswald roy & mr.
6	II	A	VIII id.
7		b	VII id.
8	X	c	VI id.
9		d	V id. Seint Romain mr.
10	XVIII	e	IIII id. Seint Laurence mr.
11	VII	f	III id. Seint Tyburcie mr.
12		g	II id.
13	XV	A	IDUS. Seint Ypolite & ces compainons.
14	IIII	b	XIX KL. DE SEPTEMBRE.
15		c	XVIII kl. Le Assumption n're Dame.
16	XII	d	XVII kl.
17	I	e	XVI kl. Vtaues de seint Laurence.
18		f	XV kl.
19	IX	g	XIIII kl.
20		A	XIII kl.
21	XVII	b	XII kl.
22	VI	c	XI kl. Vtaues del Asumption.
23		d	X kl.
24	XIIII	e	IX kl. Seint Bartholomee.
25	III	f	VIII kl.
26		g	VII kl.
27	XI	A	VI kl.
28	XIX	b	V kl. Seint Augustine eueskc.
29		c	IIII kl. Decollation de Seint Johan le Baptist.
30	VIII	d	III kl.
31		e	II kl.

La nuit ad X oures & le iour XIIII.

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SEPTEMBER.

Tertia Septembris & X^ua^ fert mala membris.

1	XVI	f	KL. SEPTEMBRE.	Seint Gyle le abbe.
2	V	g	IIII n.	
3		A	III n.	
4	XIII	b	II n.	Seint Cuthbert.
5	II	c	NON.	Seint Bertin le abbe
6		d	VIII id.	
7	X	e	VII id.	
8		f	VI id.	La Natiuite n're Dame.
9	XVIII	g	V id.	Seint Gorgon.
10	VII	A	IIII id.	
11		b	III id.	Seinte Prothe.
12	XV	c	II id.	
13	III	d	IDUS.	
14		e	XVIII KL.	DE OCTOBRE. Exaltacion de la Seinte Croiz.
15	XII	f	XVII kl.	Vtawes de la Natiuite.
16	I	g	XVI kl.	Seinte Eufemie uirg.
17		A	XV kl.	Seint Lambert mr.
18	IX	b	XIIII kl.	
19		c	XIII kl.	
20	XVII	d	XII kl.	
21	VI	e	XI kl.	Seint Matheu le Apostle.
22		f	X kl.	Seint Mauric & ces compainons.
23	XIIII	g	IX kl.	
24	III	A	VIII kl.	
25		b	VII kl.	
26	XI	c	VI kl.	
27	XIX	d	V kl.	Seint Cosme & Damian.
28		e	IIII kl.	
29	VIII	f	III kl.	La feste Seint Micheel.
30		g	II kl.	Seint Jeromin le Prestre.

La nuit ad XII oures & le iur XII.

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OCTOBER.

Tertia cum dena clamat sic integra uena.

1	XVI	A	KL. OCTOBRE.
2	V	b	VI n.
3	XIII	c	V n. *Seint Thome Herford.*
4	II	d	IIII n. Seint Fraunceis confessour.
5		e	III n.
6	X	f	II n. *S'ce Fydes.*
7		g	NON. Seinte Osithe uirgine.
8	XVIII	A	VIII id.
9	VII	b	VII id. Seint Denis et ces cumpaynons.
10		c	VI id.
11	XV	d	V id.
12	IIII	e	IIII id.
13		f	III id. Seint Edward roy.
14	XII	g	II id.
15	I	A	IDUS.
16		b	XVII KL. DE NOUEMBRE.
17	IX	c	XVI kl.
18		d	XV kl. Seint Luc Eu'ngliste.
19	XVII	e	XIIII kl.
20	VI	f	XIII kl.
21		g	XII kl.
22	XIIII	A	XI kl.
23	III	b	X kl. Seint Romain arceuesk.
24		c	IX kl.
25	XI	d	VIII kl.
26	XIX	e	VII kl. Seint Adfrid prestre & conf.
27		f	VI kl.
28	VIII	g	V kl. Seint Simond & seint Jude Apostles.
29		A	IIII kl.
30	XVI	b	III kl. Seint Germin eueske.
31	V	c	II kl. Seint Quintin mr.

La nuyt ad XIIII oures et le iour X.

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NOVEMBER.

Quinta nouat membris partes & iii[a] Nouembris.

1		d	KL. NOUEMBRE. La feste des tus seinz.
2	XIII	e	IIII n. Commemoracion des Almes.
3	II	f	III n.
4		g	II n.
5	X	A	NON.
6		b	VIII id. Seint Leonard conf.
7	XVIII	c	VII id.
8	VII	d	VI id.
9		e	V id.
10	XV	f	IIII id.
11	IIII	g	III id. Seint Martin eueske.
12		A	II id.
13	XII	b	IDUS. Seint Brice eueske.
14	I	c	XVIII KL. DE DECEMBRE.
15		d	XVII kl.
16	IX	e	XVI kl. Seint Eadmund arceueske.
17		f	XV kl.
18	XVII	g	XIIII kl.
19	VI	A	XIII kl.
20		b	XII kl. Seint Eadmund roy & mr.
21	XIIII	c	XI kl.
22	III	d	X kl. Seinte Cescille uirgine et mr.
23		e	IX kl. Seint Clement pape.
24	XI	f	VIII kl.
25	XIX	g	VII kl. Seinte Katerine uirgine.
26		A	VI kl. Seint Lin pape & mart.
27	VIII	b	V kl.
28		c	IIII kl.
29	XVI	d	III kl.
30	V	e	II kl. Seint Andreu apostle.

La nuit ad XVI oures et le iur VIII.

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DECEMBER.

Septimus ut Anguis virosus X^se ut anguis.

1		f	KL. DECEMBRE.	
2	XIII	g	IIII n.	
3	II	A	III n.	
4	X	b	II n.	
5		c	NON.	
6	XVIII	d	VIII id.	Seint Nicholas
7	VII	e	VII id.	Vtaues de Seint Andreu.
8		f	VI id.	Conception n're Dame.
9	XV	g	V id.	
10	IIII	A	IIII id.	Seinte Eulalie uirg.
11		b	III id.	
12	XII	c	II id.	
13	I	d	IDUS.	
14		e	XIX KL. DE IENEUEER.	
15	IX	f	XVIII kl.	
16		g	XVII kl.	
17	XVII	A	XVI kl.	
18	VI	b	XV kl.	
19		c	XIIII kl.	
20	XIIII	d	XIII kl.	
21	III	e	XII kl.	Seint Thomas le Apostle.
22		f	XI kl.	
23	XI	g	X kl.	
24	XIX	A	IX kl.	
25		b	VIII kl.	Natiuite de n're Seignur Ihu Crist.
26	VIII	c	VII kl.	Seint Esteuene.
27		d	VI kl.	Seint Johan Apostle & eu'ngliste.
28	XVI	e	V kl.	Seinz Innocenz.
29	V	f	IIII kl.	Seint Thomas arceueske & mr.
30		g	III kl.	
31	XIII	A	II kl.	Seint Siluestre pape.

La nuit ad XVIII oures & le iur VI.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 17, *l.* 25, for *Engligss*, read Englyss. *l.* 28, for *he*, read yt.

P. 19, *l.* 17, for *Galicis*, read Gallicis.

P. 20. *Mentioned in the will of Eadgife.* The Saxon kings at their coronation, also laid their pledges or written engagements on the high altar, as expressly mentioned in Dunstan's "Promissio Regis:" Ðiſ ȝe-ꝑnıt ıſ ȝe-ꝑnıtene ꝛtæꝼ be ꝛtæꝼe. be þam ȝe-ꝑnıte þe ðunꝛtan aꝺceb.' ꝛealꝺe unum hlaꝼoꝺe æt cınȝeꝛtune. þa on ðæȝ þa hıne man halȝoꝺe to cınȝe. ⁊ ꝼoꝺbeaꝺ hım ælc þeꝺꝺ to ꝛyllan butan þyꝛan þeꝺꝺ þe he on cꝺıꝛteꝛ þeoꝼoꝺ leꝺe ꝛpa ꝛe b.' hım ðıhte. This writing is copied letter by letter from the writing which archbishop Dunstan gave to our lord at Kingston, on the day that he was consecrated king, and forbad him to give every pledge but this pledge which he laid on Christ's altar, as the bishop charged him. *MS. Cott. Cleop. B.* XIII. *fo.* 56.

P. 22, *n. l.* 1, for aꝺceb, read aꝺceb.

P. 24, for *pompous malediction*, read *pompously quoted malediction.* The words are taken from *Matt.* xxv, 4 and 34, and are certainly misplaced. Add to the last note the following Spanish imprecations. The council of Oviedo, in 873, say, "Si quis autem nostrum se obliviosus concilii unitate subtraxerit, a vera et integra societate sanctorum segregatus, pariterque anathemate cum Juda, Domini proditore, cum diabolo et angelis ejus in perpetuum sit damnatus." *Conc. Ovetens. can.* 12. In atrocity of this kind, the priests of Leon seem to have excelled:—"Quisquis ex nostra progenie, vel extranea, hanc nostram constitutionem sciens frangere tentaverit, fracta manu, pede et cervice, evulsis oculis, fusis intestinis, percussus lepra, uno gladio anathematis, in æterna damnatione cum diabolo et angelis ejus luat pœnas." *Conc. Legion. An.* 1023, *Aguirre.*

P. 27, *l.* 15. This translation, of which I have mislaid the reference, of the Saxon in *note* †, is not strictly correct, unless the words "*bade* all the thanes *hold* his wife clear of the land," correspond in legal acceptation to "prayed all the thanes to give his wife the land clear, which her relation had granted to her."

l. 21. *Before the time of Edward the Confessor.* There is extant, however a seal with the legend SIGILLUM ÆLFRICI, followed by the arbitrary characters which de-

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noted an alderman, and a cross, around a side portrait of a crowned head and bust clad in a toga. This was in all probability the seal of Ælfric, alderman or earl of Mercia in 983, who was expelled from that province in 985. *Chron. Sax. ad annos.*

P. 29, *n.* †, after *Westmon.* add *Mon. Angl. p.* 135.

P. 31. *l.* 30, for 2560, read 5260.

P. 32, *n.* §. Add after *p.* 308.) Dr. Aikin's Athenæum.

P. 38, *n.* †, for *in a letter,* read *in his Letter;* and add at the end, *Usser. de Brit. Eccles. Primord. cap.* XIV. *p.* 539.

P. 58, *n.* I have trusted to a treacherous memory. Horace does not include more than the Faunalia and the Feralia in this ode.

P. 74. *Old Nick.* Mr. Kemble, the learned editor of *Beowulf,* gives a more probable opinion of the origin of this appellation, viz. *eald Nicer.* The morse or walrus seems to have suggested the superstition of the sea monsters, in this poem called *nicers.* Beowulf finds them lying upon the sea cliffs in his passage to the watery residence of Grendel, " a fiend of hell:"—

Geſapon ða æſtep pætepe	They there amidst the water saw
pýſm cynneſ ſela	many a kind of snake,
ſellice ſæ ᵹnacan	strange sea serpents
ſund cunnian	swim the deep,
ſpýlce on næſ hleoðum	and, on the promontories, huge
nicſaſ licᵹean.	Nicers, worms, and savage beasts
ða on unᵹeſn mæl	stretch'd their horrid length,
oft beſitiᵹað	which, at undern tide,
ſoſhſulne ſið	many a time and oft,
on ſeᵹl ſaᵹe	a sorrowing journey caused
pýſmaſ ⁊ ſilᵹeoſ.	over the path of sails.

v. 2849.

Beowulf, a mythic hero, somewhat resembling Hercules in his character and death, slays a nicer with an arrow.—*v.* 2866.

P. 90. *Superstitions respecting Salt.* It is an ingredient of holy water, which is said to have been invented by Pope Alexander I. about 113, for the express purpose of expelling devils from the possessed and of keeping them out of churches: " Dæmones procul effugantur, solo etiam sacræ aquæ aspersu." " Ad dæmones effugandos in templo servantur." *Polyd. Verg. de Invent. Rer. lib.* V. *cap.* 8, *p.* 319. The primitive fathers, however, condemned it as heathenish, impious, and detestable; and Justin Martyr says that it was invented by devils in imitation of the true baptism. *Apol.* I. The ancient Egyptians considered salt as impure, in which opinion the early christians concurred; and the emperor Julian, out of spite to them, used to order the victuals in the markets to be sprinkled with holy water, either to starve or force them to eat what, by their own principles, they esteemed most polluted. *Middleton, Letter from Rome.* As it was used in the sacrifices to the gods, we can readily understand why it was put into holy water, and why it was feigned to be disliked by witches and devils.

P. 108, *l.* 15, for *aëru* read *aërii.*

P. 109 *note* †, after *Faber,* add *Cic. Nat. Deor. l.* II. *c.* 25.

P. 127, *l.* 14, for *Estum,* read *Estan or Estonians. l.* 16, for *wore* read *bore.* The mention of the hog or boar as a military bearing, is frequent in Beowulf. In the

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following passage, it would seem that the helmet was formed in the shape of the boar's head:—

Eoforlic fcionon	The warriors seemed to bear
ofer hleor befian	o'er their cheeks a boar's form
gehroden golde	twisted with gold.
fah ⁊ fÿr heard	Varied in hue, and fire-hardened,
fefih feard eal.	it the guard of life preserved.

v. 604.

When Hildeburh commands her son to burn himself on Hnæf's funeral pile, we are told that—

æt þæm aðe fær	At that baleful pile
eþ gefÿne	easily was seen
fpat fah fÿrne	the gore stained mail shirt,
fpÿn eal gÿlden	the hog all gold,
eofer iren heard	the iron-hard boar.

v. 2213.

It occurs as a crest over the helmet, and it may possibly have been used as a standard:—

fpÿn ofer helme

v. 2573.

eafor heafoð fegn

v. 4300.

The purpose was to protect the helmet from injury in battle:—

fpa hine fÿrn ðagum	So it in ancient times
forhte fæpna fmið	by armour smith was wrought
funderum teoðe	and wonderfully furnished—
befette fpinlicum	set with shapes of hogs,
þ hine fÿððan no	so that never afterwards
bronд ne beaðo mecaf	brands or war blades
bitan ne meahton.	might bite it.

v. 2902.

P. 129 *n* ‡. Polydore Vergil asserts that masking was a capital offence in England. "Apud Anglos in re hac præ aliis certe sapientiores, lex est, ut capitale sit si quis personas induerit." *De Invent. lib.* V. *cap.* 2. *p.* 289. *Ed. Argentor.* 1606.

P. 130, 131. *Worship of Wells and Springs.* Allusions to this are frequent in Virgil. The Romans planted groves around fountains: "Facito memora circa fontes," because the souls of heroes were supposed to dwell in fountains and groves: but the superstition, prohibited by Canute, probably was a propitiation of some malignant sprite that was believed to inhabit wells, rivers and springs. Thus in *Beowulf*, the fiend Grendel dwells—

on niceра mere	in the lake of the Nicers,

v. 1684.

as did his mother.—

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ꝛe þe pæteꝛ eɣeꝛan	Who in the water's terror.
punian ꝛcolꝺe	within the cold streams
cealꝺe ꝛtꝛeamaꝛ.	was doomed to dwell.

v. 2520.

The lake is subsequently described as burning by night:

Ꝛuꝺu ꝑýnꝛum ꝛæꝛꝛ	Fast by its roots a wood
pæteꝛ oꝛeꝛ helmaꝺ	o'ershades the dismal pool,
þæꝛ mæɣ nihte ɣehpæm	where every night we may
niꝺ punꝺuꝛ ꝛeon	behold a wonder hideous—
ꝛýꝛ on ꝛlode	fire upon the flood.
no þæꝛ ꝛnoꝺ leoꝛaꝺ	There lives not of the sons of men
ɣumena beaꝛna	one with knowledge so imbued
ꝧ þone ɣꝛund pite.	that he can the depth declare.

v. 2727.

The residence of the fiends was a hateful palace within the lake:—

Ða ꝛe eoꝛl onɣeat	Then the warrior perceived
ꝧ he niꝺ ꝛele	that he a hateful hall,
nat hꝑýlcum pæꝛ	I know not what, had gained,
þæꝛ him æniɣ pæteꝛ	where him no water
pihte ne ꝛcaþeꝺe	injured in aught,
ne him ꝛoꝛ hꝛoꝛ ꝛele	or him could even touch,
hꝛinan ne mihte.	the palace roof preventing.

v. 3024.

Mr. Thoms relates from Gervase of Tilbury, the story of "Peter de Cabina," in which there is an unfathomable lake of dark water upon a mountain of Catalonia, containing in its bosom a mansion of demons, palace-like, but unknown and invisible to the mass of mankind. If a stone be cast into the water, the offended demons instantly raise a tempest. *Lays and Legends of Spain, p.* 20. Here we again find the same superstition in the north and south of Europe, whither it has passed in all probability through similar myths of the Hela of Scandinavia and the Hecate of classic mythology. See *Apoll. Argon.* III. *v.* 1193.

Thirty years ago, superstition had given a name somewhat resembling *Grendel* (Jenny *Grendith*, or *Grinteeth*) to a water-sprite in the north of England, but whether there be any other connexion than similarity of sound is not clear. In Cædmon Grendel is a name of Satan. Mr. Halliwell introduces a song of the 15th century, founded on the popular custom once prevalent of "waking wells," with the remark that "there is perhaps no part of popular superstition so curious as the worship of wells, of which, many traces remain even to the present day. The fairs, or *wakes*, in our country villages, often originated from the custom of waking the well." *Reliquiæ Antiquæ, No.* I. 1. Possibly waking, though certainly not worshipping the well may have originated from waking the church, the origin of fairs and wakes. The song begins:

"I have forsworne hit whil I life, to wake the well,"

P. 133. *l.* 9. The child was probably intended to be the king's slave. There are extant several manumissions of this class of persons in England, of a date so recent as the reign of Elizabeth. See *Barrington's Observations on Ancient Statutes.*

P. 134, *n.* †. By some oversight the Saxon verses from the Thesaurus have been

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transposed, but without materially affecting the sense. The following are the same, transcribed from the original MS. in the Cotton Library. *(Tiberius, B. I. fo. 110.)*

Anᵹ þæꝛ ymbe ꝓiꝛ niht.	And five nights thence
þæt te ꝓulpiht tiᵹ.	the baptismal tide
eceꝛ ᵹnihtneꝛ.	of the eternal lord
to uꝛ cymeð.	cometh to us,
þæne tpelꝓta ᵹæᵹ.	which the people,
tiꝛ eaᵹiᵹe.	happy in glory,
hæleð heaðu ꝓoꝛe.	heroes famed in war,
hatað on bryte.	call, here in the land
in ꝓolᵹan heꝛ.	Of Britain, the Twelfth Day.

P. 136, *l.* 20. for *modiperator*, read *modimperator.*

P. 143, *l.* 6, for *Orientibus*, read *Orientis.* *l.* 8, for *talit* read *tulit.* *l.* 9, for *virtas* read *virtus.* *l.* 11, for *Sichem* read *Sichen.* *l.* 13, *Jordanam* read *Jordanem.*

P. 145, *l.* 19. The verse "Repleat donis et gloriæ," should follow this line.

P. 155, for ᵹeniht should we read ᵹeniht?

P. 156., "benynge lanterne." Mr. Kemble remarks in his Glossary to *Beowulf*, that St. Juliana is styled pulᵹoꝛeꝛ conᵹel, a lamp of glory.

P. 161, *l.* 19, for *usual* read *unusual.*

P. 168, *l.* 19, for *Kalenda* read *Kalendæ.*

P. 170. *Offering Enemies.* This practice does not seem peculiar to Wales: the rev. H. O'Neil, of Liverpool, having at a public meeting in Wigan, June, 3, 1839, mentioned a Roman catholic cross then recently erected at Standish, added that, "On saturday evening, May 25, a good Roman catholic kneeled down at that cross. I think I hear you ask for what purpose? For a pious purpose? He kneeled down deliberately for the purpose of cursing publickly Messrs. Jackson and Whitlock, the two curates." *Wigan Gazette*, June 7, 1839.

P. 209. *n.** for Ιχυοφαγια read Ιχθυοφαγια.

P. 210. *n.‡* Ælfric also quoting Augustine, says, in the homily "De Auguriis:" Ne ꝓceal nan man cepan be ᵹaᵹum on hrylcum ᵹæᵹe he ꝓaꝛe. oððe on hrylcum he ᵹecynꝛe. ꝓoꝛðan ꝛe ᵹoᵹ ᵹeꝛceap ealle ða ꝛeoꝛan ᵹaᵹaꝛ. þe ynnað on þæꝛe pucan. oð þiꝛꝛe poꝛuld ᵹe-enᵹunge. Ac ꝛe hpiðeꝛ ꝓaꝛan pille. ꝛinᵹe hiꝛ pateꝛ n'n. ꝛ cpeðan ᵹe he cunne. ᵹ clypiᵹe to hiꝛ ᵹniht. ᵹ bletꝛiᵹe hine ꝛylꝛne. ᵹ ꝛiðiᵹe oꝛꝛoꝛh þuꝛh ᵹoᵹeꝛ ᵹeꝛcylᵹnyꝛꝛe. butan ðæꝛa ꝛceoccena piᵹlunᵹa. *Julius. E.* VII. *fo.* 81. 81 *b.* No man shall observe by the days on what day he travel, or on which he return; because God created all the seven days which run in the week to the end of this world. But whithersoever he desires to go let him sing and say his paternoster if he know it, and call upon his lord, and bless himself, and travel free from care, under the protection of God, without the sorceries of the devils.

P. 250. *Herculi Magasuno.* The latter epithet appears to be *maga*, mighty, and *sunne*, the sun: hence the inscription. "To Hercules the powerful sun." became characteristic.

P. 267 *l.* 21. For *Compeigne*, read *Champagne*: *l.* 22 for *Valentin*, *Valentia.*

P. 268. *Præstities Lares.* The ancient Roman Kalendar, published by Dr. Foster. gives for May 1, "Bonæ Deæ. Laribus præstitibus ara posita."

P. 281 *n.†* *Alestake.* It was probably, at first, a pole erected before the booths in which ale was sold at the fairs in the neighbourhood of churches, at the dedication

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and other great feasts. In a satyrical ballad by Lydgate, the stake seems to be used for the ale-booth:—

" And with his wynnynges he makith his offryng
At the ale-stakis. syttyng ageyn the none,
Out of a cuppe to pluk out the lyneng."

Reliquæ Antiquæ. No. 1. *p.* 14.

P. 285, *l.* 21. A feast at the sepulture of a distinguished person was sometimes given among the Scandinavians, without reference to the hereditary descent of his property. Such banquets the Angles called *corpse-feasts*. Beowulf, giving directions respecting his funeral, says:—" If war shall take me, forth bear my bloody corse; forget not to bury it, and let the solitary traveller eat without mourning: mark my moor dwelling (i. e. grave): for my corpse feast (licer reorme) more than this thou need'st not care." *Beow. v.* 890-7.

P. 286, *n. l.* 5. For *circuit* read *course*.

P. 287. *The Suttee was occasionally celebrated.* So in *Beowulf*:—

Þeт ða þilðeburh	Then commanded Hildeburh
æт þnæfer aðe	At the funeral pile of Hnæf
hire felfre funu	her own dear son
fpeoloðe beræртan	to commit himself to the fire.
ban fatа býrnan	his bone-vessel (i. e. his body) to consume
⁊ on bæl ðon	and on the pile to place.
rðer gnornoðe	Wretchedly the lady mourned,
eafme on eaxle	and, o'er his shoulder leaning,
geomoðe giððum	lamented him with songs.
guðfinc afтah. &c.	The warrior mounted.

v. 2221.

Mr. Kemble, in a note, quotes several instances of this kind of sacrifice among the northern nations.

P. 288, *n.* *. Add, " Nullus forestarius faciat scotallas, vel garbas colligat."—*Carta de Foresta, c.* 8.

P. 302. *Bael Fire.* Though the existence of cremation, among the Scandinavian tribes is as well authenticated as it is among the Romans, we find a well informed and judicious critic in Blackwood writing that " incremation and urn burial were as totally unknown to the ancient Danes as powder and perukes." *Sept.* 1839, *p.* 342. The fact is that the Scandinavians and Romans had the custom from the same source, and hence many of the ceremonies of the one were common with the other. See Mallet, *North. Antiq. Vol.* I. *ch.* 12.

P. 317, *l.* 16. In the introductory note to her *Wild Huntsman*, Mrs. Hemans says, " It is confidently asserted that the sound of his phantom horses and hounds was heard by the Duke of Baden before the commencement of the last war in Germany." The terrific operations of a midnight storm on the superstitious, are admirably drawn by the poetess. See *vol.* IV. *p.* 114, of the beautiful edition of her Works, by Messrs. Blackwood.

P. 326, *l.* 23. *Bedizened*, adorned like a fool; a provincial word, apparently from the Saxon, ðýrizan, to be foolish.

P. 330, *note l.* 13. I believe that I am wrong in deriving *Sire* from *Seigneur*. Mr. Kemble in the Glossary to *Beowulf*, under the word Sige, *victoria*, traces it thus:

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Sigor, *victoriosus*. Got. *sigora*. *sihorce*. O. Nor. *sira*. Fr. *sire*. So in August. Epist. 178, the Gothic *Sihora armen* is no more than κυριε ελεησον."

P. 332 *n.* ‖. Hlammæsa is also found, *ad an.* 1009.

P. 336. *Errors of former generations.* By the Gloss. art. *Assumptio S. Mariæ*, it will be seen that about a century before the Tridentine Council, it was preached in England that the virgin did ascend to heaven, "body and soul." I am as unwilling to ascribe error as heresy to any religion, and therefore withdraw what may seem to some a heavy imputation on their faith.

P. 366 *n.* †. For *Bremontacæ* read *Bremonatacæ*.

P. 377 *n* *. The rattling of chains was one of the accompaniments of Tartarus:—

" ——— Stridor ferri tractæque catenæ."

Virg. Æn. VI. 558.

P. 421. *l.* 9, & 422, *l.* 1, for *Vitellius E.* read *Vitellius A.*

P. 434, *l.* 26. Mr. Wright, who has copied a latin prayer from it, adjudges this MS. to the first half of the 11th century; he adds that "it appears to have belonged to a nunnery from the circumstance of the person who prays in this and other instances speaking in the feminine gender. *Reliq. Antiq.* I. *p.* 35.

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